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The World War
and
Its Consequences

Being lectures in the course on Patriotism delivered at the University of Pittsburgh during the summer session of 1918

By

William Herbert Hobbs

Professor of Geology in the University of Michigan

Author of "Earthquakes," "Characteristics of Existing Glaciers," "Earth Features and their Meaning," etc.

With an Introduction by

Theodore Roosevelt

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To

MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A.

MEDAL OF HONOR

THE AMERICAN LORD ROBERTS

WHO SOUNDED IN UNWILLING EARS AND TO AN ATROPHIED NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS THE CALL TO ARMS OF THE COMING CONFLICT, THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

IT is the literal truth that if I could choose only one book to be put in the hand of every man and woman in the United States at this time, I would choose the book of Professor William Herbert Hobbs. The book does not deal with the military operations of the war, but it states with entire truthfulness and fairness and with a fearlessness and deep insight which are beyond praise, exactly what the conditions are that have made Germany a menace and horror to the whole world; exactly what the conditions are that led to this nation's culpable failure to perform its duty during the first two and a half years of the world war; and exactly what is most needed at the present moment from this nation in order that it may do its national and international duty.

When I say that this book tells the truth I especially allude to the fearlessness with which the writer tells all, or almost all, of the whole truth—without which the half truth may be the veriest falsehood. I am not vouching for the accuracy of every detail of fact—there are one or two unimportant items I could myself point out as erroneous.[1] But the essential and vital truth is here set forth as in no other volume of which I have knowledge. No one but a very able man, a

[1] Since corrected.—W. H. H.

very fearless man, and a deeply patriotic American, could have written this volume.

Professor Hobbs shows the growth of the spirit in Germany which has made Germany a world danger, sketching the facts in outline, but presenting those that are essential in that language of burning indignation which befits the real historian in such a matter—for in writing history, no less than in conducting the affairs of a nation, impartiality is as far as the poles from neutrality. Impartiality means justice, means truth-telling, and therefore means the capacity for fiery, indeed white-hot indignation against wrong. Neutrality at best is a drab-colored, selfish, and insignificant virtue, even when it *is* a virtue; and it is often a particularly obnoxious vice—just as it was, on the part of so many of our politicians from the President down, and of so many of our professors and other professional intellectuals, of the *New Republic* and *Nation* type, during the first two and a half years of the war. Professor Hobbs exposes the German propaganda in this country and boldly shows the hideous wrongdoing by the pacifist propaganda which went hand in hand with it. He speaks with reserve of the actions of the Administration—it would probably be inexpedient to tell the whole truth about the Administration's conduct until after the close of the war. But he does truthfully set forth a portion of the misconduct of those of our public men in whose hands lay the leadership of public affairs during the vital years with which he deals. A particularly refreshing feature of the book is the fine and well-deserved series of tributes to General Wood's actions, and to men like the late Congressman Gardner.

I repeat that there is no book published since the

outbreak of the war which quite so well deserves a place on the reading table of every wise and patriotic American.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

NEW YORK,
October 15, 1918.

TO A PATRIOT

Not his the craven's rôle, nor any share
  In spiritless delay unleaderlike.
Far-seeing, long he warned us to prepare
  Our thews for righteous combat—and to strike!
Exiled from France by malice partisan,
  Upon her shrine he laid with solemn pride
Four sons, each to the core American.
  One fell in godlike battle. Far and wide
The nation mourned, and rendered homage vast
  To father and to son, mirrors of bold
Lincolnian knighthood. Honor, ye who cast
  Ballots of freedom, men of freedom's mold!
Under such leaders rise and smite the foe,
Within, without, till victory's banners glow.

HARRY TORSEY BAKER.

PREFACE

THE lectures of this book were delivered to audiences of university students having a nucleus of school teachers and school superintendents, and were designed primarily to afford access to that reservoir of fact upon which every teacher must draw who would present adequately and convincingly the subject of patriotism. At the outset such teaching must be aimed at correcting error and dispelling the illusions which have been maliciously foisted upon a people so absorbed in making a fortune as not to have noted either the source of these doctrines or their pernicious character.

The world war, whose prodigious bulk dwarfs every other consideration, was, as regards its origins, veiled at first and obscure to all save the more discerning; but the evidence has now been unloaded upon us in such overwhelming volume that we are submerged; and, though convinced, we are some of us unable out of the welter of facts to reconstruct a clear picture. It is this which the lectures of the present volume have attempted to supply. They have been but little modified since they were delivered, and the direct personal manner of presentation has generally been retained. The lecture upon "Our Debt to France," was delivered as a Bastille Day address before a mass meeting of citizens as well as to the class in patriotism, and it therefore assumed more the form of an oration.

With the war has come a veritable library of material covering the wide range from official documents, through hundreds of special works and thousands of tracts and pamphlets, to tens of thousands of newspaper articles, many of them of the greatest value.

The briefer articles which under other circumstances might be regarded as fugitive, have been given such wide circulation as to be within the reach of all, and in the bibliographies at the conclusion of each lecture I have included some of the more important of them.

It has appeared to me to be my duty to speak with the utmost candor concerning those tendencies which carry a menace to our national life; and I have not hesitated to use the names of individuals who from positions of influence or responsibility, either unwittingly or from design, have misled the people in this crisis. Some have now become aware of their error, though comparatively few have made any serious attempt to retrieve the consequences of their acts, and there is a far larger number who have merely adopted a disguise now that the open hawking of their wares has become unprofitable or even dangerous.

I am indebted to my friend, Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, for reading the manuscript to correct possible historical errors.

W. H. H.

University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor,
September 28, 1918.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I.—The Historical Background of the War	1
II.—The Launching of the War, the Record of Twelve Days	21
III.—The Plot against Democracy; (a) the Earlier Stages	48
IV.—The Plot against Democracy; (b) the Final Preparations	64
V.—Our Debt to France	86
VI.—The Military Masters of Germany	98
VII.—The Discipline of the Individual in Germany	111
VIII.—How Germany Prepared for War by Peaceful Penetration	129
IX.—The "Greater Empire" of German Expansion—"Deutschtum im Ausland"	149
X.—How Germany Makes War—Atrocities under System	163
XI.—German Conspiracies against the United States	187

PAGE

XII.—America's Attitude toward the War —The Preparedness Movement . 213

XIII.—Pacifist Propaganda and its Consequences 254

XIV.—"Peace without Victory" . . . 273

XV.—The "Freedom of the Seas" . . 289

XVI.—German Preparations for the Next War 315

XVII.—The Peace Terms of Democracy . 331

XVIII.—Internationalism versus a League of the Democratic Nations . . 367

XIX.—The Teaching of Patriotism . . 386

Afterword 418

Index 425

The World War and Its Consequences

The World War and Its Consequences

I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

"The good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

Rob Roy.

"*Gegen Demokraten*
Hilfen nur Soldaten."

("Against democrats
The only help is soldiers.")

Prussian palace proverb dating from the 1848 uprisings.

LAWYERS are accustomed to speak of the ultimate or fundamental, as opposed to the proximate or immediate causes of an event. In non-technical language, we speak of the occasion as opposed to the deeper and generally less evident cause. This cause, often hidden or only obscurely revealed in the background, is far more difficult to outline, but it is correspondingly more vital and important. It is often best described as a characteristic or tendency, an unsatisfied longing or

Ultimate versus proximate causes

ambition which at last becomes overmastering and rushes to a climax.

I shall not make pretense of adopting a quasi-judicial attitude and of trying a case which has already been adjudicated in the supreme court of civilization to the entire satisfaction of all save the culprits in the tragedy; but I shall attempt rather to show by a recital of significant facts and events in their sequential relationship how the world tragedy which culminated in the assault of 1914 was as inevitable as the rising of the sun, and as evident to the unbiased and thoughtful observer as the result in a problem of mathematics.

Several nations of the first rank have appeared upon the world's stage in this supreme drama, but the principals have been unquestionably Germany and England, with whom have been aligned respectively the forces of autocracy and democracy; for, despite its monarchical trappings, England is as genuinely democratic a nation as is the United States itself. Germany, on the other hand, has appeared in the disguise of a constitutional government, though it has been more absolute than any government, save only the Turkey of Abdul Hamid and, doubtfully, the Russia of Nicholas II.

Germany and England

I shall assume, what will later be shown and what is universally accepted to-day, that this war was "made in Germany" during something more than a generation, and I shall lay bare the mainsprings of Prussian policy as I unfold in outline the growth of the Prussianized Germany of to-day from the diminutive margrave of Brandenburg of the latter part of the fifteenth century. This insignificant province surrounding the site of Berlin possessed a barren soil and a warlike people. Under

Growth of Prussian territory

the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Further Pomerania and Magdeburg were acquired by conquest, and under Frederick William II., who sold the royal jewels and the family plate to secure an invincible military machine, old Hither Pomerania as well; so that by 1718 Prussian territory had been more than trebled.

Before the end of the century, another conqueror came to the throne, and this time a military genius in the person of Frederick the Great, who ruthlessly wrested Silesia from Austria and began the shameful partition of Poland. It was this disciple of Machiavelli who said, "I first of all take, I always find pedants to prove my rights," and again in a speech from the throne, "All written constitutions are only scraps of paper." Frederick has been misnamed "the Great" but should be known as "Frederick the Base," for there is nothing uplifting or ennobling to be recorded of him. We in the United States have done well to remove to a well-merited place of concealment his statue, which was presented by Kaiser Wilhelm and set up at the War College in Washington.

Frederick the Base

When Frederick died in 1786, his country's territory had been doubled by conquest during his lifetime. Under his successor, Frederick William III., the rape of Poland was continued, the Rhine Province was gathered in, and under Frederick William IV., Hohenzollern and the Jahde District.

In the manner described, the Prussian race of Slavic strain had between 1477 and 1864 appropriated, one after the other, various provinces, many of which were inhabited by people of Germanic race. These Germans and others, living in what is now South Germany, had already

German dreamers of world empire

at various times in the past been loosely held together for longer or shorter periods by strong military leaders, and notably during the existence of the so-called Holy Roman Empire, aptly characterized as "neither holy, Roman, nor an empire."

It has been peculiar to this German race to develop dreamers of world empire. Such were Genseric, King of the Vandals, and Theodoric the Great in the fifth century of our era, Charlemagne in the eighth century, and three Holy Roman emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. in the twelfth century, and Charles V. in the sixteenth century. Frederick the Great of Prussia and William I. and William II. of Prussianized Germany appear therefore as merely extending to greater lengths the long procession of German would-be world conquerors.

Bismarck and the German struggle for liberty

The modern period of Prussian conquest followed hard upon the great awakening of democratic spirit which culminated in the insurrections in Europe in 1848; and had it not been for the genius and the iron will of Bismarck, who had seized the reins of power in Germany (1),[1] it is possible that that nation might have achieved its liberties. It was the Iron Chancellor who screwed up the courage of the Prussian King, William I., who returning from his refuge in England was timorously watching the parliamentary activities of his subjects and letting "I dare not wait upon I would." It was in this mood that his Mephistopheles came to him in the person of the "man of blood and iron" and reasoned with him.

Says Bismarck in his memoirs: "I succeeded in con-

[1] Initial figures within parentheses refer to numbered references at ends of chapters.

vincing him [the king] that so far as he was concerned it was no question of liberal or conservative of this or that shade, but rather of monarchical rule or parliamentary government, and that the latter must be avoided at all costs, if even by a period of dictatorship" (2, vol. i., p. 296).

Bismarck's influence upon William I. of Prussia

When later, the Danish question came up and it was proposed that Prussia should join with Austria in seizing the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the king was fearful of assuming the risk and "stuck to his motto, 'I have no right to Holstein.'" "I reminded the king," says Bismarck, "that every one of his immediate ancestors, not even excepting his brother, had won an increment of territory for the state . . . and I encouraged him to do likewise" (2, vol. ii., p. 10). After the first addition to the kingdom had been made under King William, Bismarck records with much satisfaction in his diary, the king's "frame of mind, so far as I could observe, underwent a psychological change; he developed a taste for conquest" (2, vol. ii., p. 20).

The crushing of the resistance of Denmark by the combined forces of Germany and Austria was the matter of a few days only, but it is interesting to follow the steps in the quarrel over the spoils which brought on the war of 1866, steps all of which had been skillfully engineered by Bismarck with an eye upon the next war of 1870, already clearly envisaged in his brain. Nowhere are the mainsprings of Prussian policy so clearly revealed as in Bismarck's own memoirs, where they stand out in all the nakedness of a barefaced and shameless confession. Since the makers of the present war have been

Bismarck's advance plans for the Franco-Prussian War

clumsy imitators of Bismarck in their attempt to extend the program of conquest, it is important to follow his recital with care.

After the decisive defeat of Austria at the battle of Königgrätz, the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, begged Napoleon III. to intervene, and offered in return to cede Venetia to France. The Prussian General Staff and the Prussian King William, flushed as they were with victory, were for crushing Austria completely by another battle. Bismarck, however, with the Franco-Prussian War already planned for the future, desired Austria's neutrality and eventually her alliance. His struggle at Nikolsburg against the king and the military party was the greatest in his career, and was achieved through utilizing the humanitarian impulses of the Crown Prince Frederick, later Frederick III. and the one decent monarch in the long line of Hohenzollerns from the Great Elector to the present German Kaiser.

Bismarck's struggle with the king and staff at Nikolsburg

Bismarck tells us that, fearing he had lost in this vital issue, he was considering throwing himself out of the window. Then

"I heard the door open, although I suspected that the person entering was the Crown Prince, whose room in the same corridor I had just passed. I felt his hand on my shoulder, while he said: 'You know that I was against this war. You considered it necessary and the responsibility for it lies on you. If you are now persuaded that our end is attained, and peace must now be concluded, I am ready to support you and defend your opinion with my father.' He then repaired to the King and came back after a short half-hour, in the same calm, friendly mood, but with the words: 'It has been a very difficult business, but my father has consented.' " (2, vol. ii., p. 53.)

His ends achieved in this second premeditated war of aggression, which had brought to Prussia the province of Hanover, all preparations were now made to crush France, and as the question of the succession to the Spanish throne came opportunely to hand, Bismarck advocated a Hohenzollern prince unacceptable to France. The friction aroused between the two countries over the proposed succession was, to Bismarck's great disgust, much mitigated through the influence of the Prussian Queen, who in tears implored King William to avert war.

Believing that he had lost in his effort to launch a war against France, Bismarck now decided to resign as Chancellor. The king being at Ems, Bismarck invited von Moltke and von Roon, the military heads of the army, to dine with him. It was at this dinner that Bismarck purposely falsified the Ems telegram from the king and thus precipitated the war in which France was crushed. Even this forgery has been imitated not once but many times in the present war, and we can best have the account in the Chancellor's own words:

Bismarck's falsification of the Ems telegram

"Having decided to resign, in spite of the remonstrances which Roon made against it, I invited him and Moltke to dine with me alone on the 13th, and communicated to him at table my views and projects for doing so. Both were greatly depressed, and reproached me indirectly with selfishly availing myself of my greater facility for withdrawing from service. . . . During our conversation I was informed that a telegram from Ems . . . was being deciphered. When the copy was handed to me . . . I read it out to my guests, whose dejection was so great that they turned away from food and drink. On a repeated examination of the document I lingered upon the authorization of His Majesty, which included a command, imme-

diately to communicate Benedetti's fresh demand and its rejection both to our ambassadors and to the press. I put a few questions to Moltke as to the extent of his confidence in the state of our preparations, especially as to the time they would still require in order to meet this sudden risk of war. He answered that if there was to be war he expected no advantage to us by deferring its outbreak; . . . while at a later period this advantage would be diminished; he regarded a rapid outbreak as, on the whole, more favorable to us than delay.

"All these considerations, conscious and unconscious, strengthened my opinion that war could be avoided only at the cost of the honor of Prussia and of the national confidence in it. Under this conviction, I made use of the royal authorization communicated to me through Abeken, to publish the contents of the telegram; and in the presence of my two guests I reduced the telegram by striking out words, but without adding or altering. . . . *The difference in the effect of the abbreviated text of the Ems telegram as compared with that produced by the original was not the result of stronger words but of the form, which made this announcement appear decisive, while Abeken's version would only have been regarded as a fragment of a negotiation still pending and to be continued at Berlin.*

"After I had read out the concentrated edition to my two guests, Moltke remarked: '*Now it has a different ring; it sounded before like a parley; now it is like a flourish in answer to challenge.*' I went on to explain: '*If in execution of His Majesty's order I at once communicate this text, which contains no alteration in or addition to the telegram, not only to the newspapers, but also by telegraph, to all our embassies, it will be known in Paris before midnight, and not only on account of its contents, but also on account of the manner of its distribution, will have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull.* Fight we must if we do not want to act the part of the vanquished without a battle. *Success, however, essentially depends upon the impression which the origination of the*

war makes upon us and others; it is important that we should be the party attacked, and this Gallic over-weening and touchiness will make us, if we announce in the face of Europe, so far as we can without the speaking-tube of the Reichstag, that we fearlessly meet the public threats of France.'

"This explanation brought about in the two generals a revulsion to a more joyous mood, the liveliness of which surprised me. They had suddenly recovered their pleasure in eating and drinking and spoke in a more cheerful vein. Roon said: 'Our God of old lives still and will not let us perish in disgrace.' Moltke so far relinquished his passive equanimity that, glancing up joyously towards the ceiling and abandoning his usual punctiliousness of speech, he smote his hand upon his breast and said: 'If I may but live to lead our armies in such a war, then the devil may come directly afterwards and fetch away the "old carcass." ' " (2, vol. ii., pp. 96–98, 100–102.)

The Franco-Prussian War, as Bismarck had clearly foreseen, left the French Empire crushed; for, as he well knew from the reports of his spies, France was unprepared and was living in a fool's paradise. When Napoleon III. had inquired of his Minister of War if everything was ready, that official had replied that if the war were to last an entire year, the French army would not need so much as a gaiter button. But General Failly cried out: "We need everything." "We are in want of everything," echoed Marshal Bazaine.

France unprepared was crushed by the war

For defending herself against German aggression, Bismarck at Versailles imposed upon France in her humiliation a punitive war indemnity of five billion francs, or one billion dollars, and further, against the bitter protest of the inhabitants, robbed France of the rich Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The rape of Alsace-Lorraine

It seems to have been believed by Germany that after meeting these enormous penalties France would be unable to recover; but when after five years the nation had struggled up from beneath its burdens, Bismarck sought means to provoke a new war, declaring that he would now "bleed her white," and it was the firm stand of England and Russia that alone stood in his way. Though the hate engendered by these ruthless acts and threats played a rôle in contributing to the causes of the present war, a larger factor was the desire of Germany to remove what she with guilty conscience regarded as a menace to her security.

The policy of revenge

France no doubt desired restitution, but *revanche* as a national policy had been abandoned by France years before the war of 1914 was launched; and for the reason, if for no other, that the comparison of German and French increments in population since 1871 had revealed only too clearly its utter hopelessness.

Popular support of Prussianism in this war

That the success of Bismarck's wars had secured for him a popular approval in Germany is abundantly manifest to any one who has visited Germany since 1871. From commanding hilltops the hard features of the man of blood and iron, cast in massive bronze, look down upon a people as thoroughly Prussianized as nearly a half-century of *Kultur* could make them. It matters little that one who offered opposition would find himself in difficulties; the amazing result has been reached. We in America can measure the transformation which has been accomplished, if we but compare the German immigrants of the '48 period with those who have come to us since 1871.

There is, so far as I know, no evidence that Bismarck himself looked forward to definite early conquests beyond those which he had consummated, and which, as he so often expressed it, had welded together the German Empire. He knew that Germany was in need of strengthening herself industrially and commercially; and he even at first discouraged embarking upon a colonial policy lest this should distract attention from the necessary internal development, now that the different German kingdoms, duchies, and principalities had been united into one empire.

Bismarckian policy after 1871

There is evidence that Bismarck largely overlooked, at least at the outset, the full measure in which the Alsace-Lorraine acquisition was to be the making of modern industrial Germany; for it is inconceivable that he would otherwise for a moment have doubted the wisdom of including the provinces among the spoils of the war. Probably there were very few, if any, who realized at that time the full importance in the future economy of Europe of the iron ores of Lorraine; though to-day it is a well-established fact that the economic development of a great Power is impossible without adequate deposits of both coal and iron. Germany was already well supplied with coal, particularly in Westphalia, but had small deposits only of iron. Great Britain was at the time, by reason of her developed resources of coal and iron, the foremost industrial state.

Alsace-Lorraine the cause of Germany's industrial development

In the language of Talleyrand, Germany's chief industry was war, but the advance of technical science has been changing the character of war and making it directly dependent, not only upon man-power and skillful training, but even more upon industrial development in the

Iron and coal in the modern state

modern sense—the great industries dependent upon iron and steel production.

Lorraine brought to Germany the deposits which are chiefly responsible for her phenomenal development during the last generation. Let us examine for a moment the figures. In 1870, Germany produced but a million tons of pig iron annually, to three and a half millions produced in France. In 1913, her production was thirteen million tons of pig iron, and the production of iron ore in the annexed territory of Lorraine was 21,136,000 tons, or three fourths that of the entire country. Even this production has been enormously increased during the war, but this story belongs to a later chapter.

Breakdown of Prussian efficiency in 1871

It is of some interest here to recall that the "green border" which von Moltke drew upon the map in the fall of 1870 to outline the new international frontier, did not, as he had intended, include all the valuable ore that was known at that time. German efficiency here broke down, and some shaking of the mailed fist in the face of France was found to be necessary before the preliminary draft of the Treaty of Frankfort could be so modified as to seize all that was then in sight. Even here fate favored France, for the ores which Germany rejected because supposed to be valueless have, through the subsequent invention of the Thomas-Gilchrist process of ore reduction, become more valuable even than those which were acquired by Germany. These rich phosphorous ores lie in French Lorraine within the Briey-Longwy basin close to the border, and in consequence we hear from German officials that it is their purpose to demand as a condition of peace that these immensely rich ore deposits shall remain in their hands.

The development of the Lorraine ores by Germany has in the period since 1871 transformed the nation from an agricultural to an industrial state,— what the German historian Lamprecht has aptly termed a "tentacular state," because it is reaching out in all directions beyond its borders to draw in capital and raw materials (3), and to secure markets. In 1871, Germany's population was four fifths agricultural, whereas in 1913 out of sixty-seven millions of Germans, scarcely seventeen millions lived by agriculture (4). In the early ages of the last century, German emigration exceeded two hundred thousand annually, but it has long since been negligible, and though her own normal increase in population had been eight hundred thousand a year, Germany had continued to bring in some seven hundred thousand Slav laborers to work the farms of East Prussia, not to mention Italians, Croats, and Poles. These laborers have taken the place of the Germans who have deserted the farms for the factories. Even before the war, the Krupp works alone employed seventy-three thousand workers, Thyssen thirty thousand, and Mannesermann fifteen thousand.

Germany transformed into a tentacular state

Said Lamprecht in 1904:

"Today every nerve is strained to maintain the position of Germanism in the world and to advance it. This requires that our economic life should be united, all forces acting as a whole, like an army. . . . The sea must no longer be merely a highway for our commerce and the nursing mother of our national economy, but the battlefield of our struggles with the nations and the cradle of a new freedom" (3).

Germany's danger from over-rapid development

Germany must now dispose of large quantities of highly specialized manufactured products, and she

has an enormous appetite for capital, which is immediately absorbed in the further expansion of industrial plants through the remodeling of machinery, etc. The great industrial firms depend upon the industrial banks, these upon central banks, and these latter in turn upon the *Deutsche Bank*, the financial center of the nation (4).

Customers are no less essential than capital and raw materials to the life of a tentacular state like Germany. It is her foreign trade which has paid, not only for the enormous outlay of her industrial plants, but for about one third of her food supply drawn in peace times from outside her borders. Once poor, she has suddenly waxed rich, with all the obnoxious characteristics of the *nouveau riche* here superimposed upon normal Teuton boorishness and brutality. In 1895, according to Dr. Helfferich, director of the *Deutsche Bank* and lately Minister of Finance, the income from fortunes in Germany was estimated at five and a fourth billions of dollars, whereas in 1913 this sum had increased to from ten to twelve and a half billions. In 1913 the national wealth of Germany was by the same authority estimated at eighty billions of dollars.

German industrial development and the food problem

Under the influence of the German tentacular state, Russia had become both a market and a purveyor of German farm labor, the latter by the terms of the treaty concluded at the end of the Russo-Japanese War. France had been both Germany's bank and her purveyor of iron ore. Britain had lately refused to loan money for German enterprises, and had thus become, even more than before, the great rival to be crushed.

Foreign nations as purveyors to Germany's workshops

Professor Paul Arndt, writing, in 1908, on the dan-

gers of German participation in world-wide trade, showed how her industrial development had made her dependent upon foreign countries, so that if international relations should be disturbed, she would have workmen without food and a great depreciation of capital.

As Germany's industries expanded with such feverish haste, her mines could no longer supply sufficient iron ore for her capacious maw. In 1913, she imported no less than fourteen million tons of iron ore in addition to the thirty-five million tons which she mined within the German Customs Union, which included Luxembourg; and she was continually reaching out to acquire new ore properties. The Casablanca crisis of 1911, which nearly precipitated the world war, grew to a large extent out of the German desire to acquire the valuable Moroccan iron deposits, though this fact has been little referred to (5 and 6).

Germany's insatiable appetite for iron ore

Says one of the keenest and most thorough students of economics in France, M. Henri Hauser:

"I have shown how the over-rapid industrialism of Germany has led by a mechanical and fatal process to the German war. . . .

"It is an industrial victory, a forced marriage of German coal and foreign iron, the reduction of nations into vassals who are to play the part of perpetual customers of the German work-shops. . . . The victory of Germany meant for them security of iron supplies and enlarged markets, which meant Briey, Aymetz, Casablanca, and Bagdad." (4, p. 30.)

Some measure of the expanding markets of Germany is afforded by the export trade, which in 1890 was valued at $875,000,000 and in 1913 at $2,500,000,000.

In March, 1888, the old Kaiser, Wilhelm I., slept with his fathers, and his son, "Frederick the Noble," came to the throne, a dying man, to reign ninety-six days and be in turn succeeded by his son William II., the present Kaiser. William ascended the throne June 15, 1888. The régime of Bismarck continued for less than two years to end in a clash with the Emperor in March, 1890; a clash which was given an apt characterization by London *Punch* in the now famous cartoon, "Dropping the Pilot."

Accession of William II. and dismissal of Bismarck

It is perhaps an open question in how far the new Kaiser initiated, or since what time he became a supporter of the plans for world conquest of the German military leaders. Poultney Bigelow, the Kaiser's playfellow in childhood and for twenty-five years favored with an unusual degree of intimacy, believes that the idea gradually gained ascendancy over the Kaiser, and that he threw off the mask in 1896, after the completion of the Kiel Canal, in the now famous telegram sent to President Kruger of the Boer Republic, a message which brought from England the immediate response of the mobilized Flying Squadron (7, p. 130). The Kaiser now set out to challenge Britain's command of the sea, and originated the slogan, *Deutschland's Zukunft liegt auf dem Wasser* ("Germany's future lies upon the water"), a decision which was the starting point of the ruinous competition in naval armaments which has since prevailed.

Germany throws off the mask in 1896

To treat with any fullness the historic background of the present war would require a book rather than a lecture; and I shall now content myself with merely setting down in chronological order a list of events,

all interlocked and interrelated, which have led up to the great tragedy through which we are now passing. For this purpose it will be necessary to go back to the beginning of modern and Prussianized Germany, which dates from the coronation of William I. in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in the presence of war-drunk generals and princes of now federated German states:

Chronology of events leading up to the world war

1871. Treaty of Frankfort, which annexed Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and imposed upon France a punitive war indemnity of a billion dollars.

1874. The gentlemen's agreement of the three autocratic kaisers of Germany, Russia, and Austria.

1875. Bismarck's plan to strike France down again and this time "bleed her white," a plan frustrated by England and Russia.

1878. Treaty of Berlin at conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War, by which the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina inhabited by Serbs, were placed under the tutelage of Austria.

1882. Triple alliance formed between Germany, Austria, and Italy according to Bismarck's plan.

1888. Coronation of William II. as German Emperor.

1889. Kaiser Wilhelm visits Turkey and declares himself the protector of the Mohammedan world. Beginning of the new *Drang nach Osten.*

1890. Dismissal of Bismarck and beginning of personal government by the Kaiser.

1896. Completion of Kiel Canal. Open defiance of England in the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger. Dual alliance between France and Russia formed to meet the menace of chauvinistic Germany.

1904. Russo-Japanese War entered upon by Russia

at instigation of German Emperor, with the result of leaving Russia weakened.

1905. The rapprochement of France and England through the settlement of the Moroccan question and other causes of friction. Kaiser Wilhelm visits Morocco and dramatically defies Moroccan arrangement.

1906. Algeciras Conference of the Great Powers to settle the Moroccan crisis, in which settlement Germany and Austro-Hungary become isolated.

1908. Tearing-up of the treaty of Berlin through annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Germany stands by "in shining armor." *Coup d'état* of the Young Turks. Bulgaria declares her independence and takes an Austrian colonel as ruler with the title of Tsar.

1911. Caillaux, French Premier, now on trial for treason, makes secret arrangements with the Kaiser favorable to Germany. The German mailed fist displayed at Agadir precipitates a crisis, which is averted by the Guild Hall speech of Lloyd George and the joint action of French and British banks. Tripoli is seized by Italy in a war declared upon Turkey.

1912. Peace signed at Lausanne between Italy and Turkey. First Balkan War of the allied Balkan States drives Turkey almost out of Europe and disrupts the balance of power. Germany's three-year military service act is passed and the French Ambassador at Berlin notifies his government that this German action looks toward war in the near future.

1913. Second Balkan War is started by Bulgaria at the instigation of Austria and is ended by the Treaty of Bucharest, which leaves Bulgaria in worse state than before. Three-year military service promulgated in France following as a natural consequence that of

Germany. Germany responds by an additional supplementary military act.

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II

THE LAUNCHING OF THE WAR, THE RECORD OF TWELVE DAYS

"The triumph of the Greater Germany, which some day must dominate all Europe, is the single end for which we are fighting."—Proclamation of June, 1915, by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

"A Grey man came and said: 'You know,
Your treaty guarantees them, so——'

"I said to him, I said it plain,
'Then we must tear it up again.'"

Malice in Kulturland.

"In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside of Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world war."—PRINCE KARL LICHNOWSKY, lately German Ambassador at London.

WE have seen that the ultimate cause of the present war is to be traced to German ambitions for world domination, a program consistently carried out by the Hohenzollerns since the time of the Great Elector, and brought to its crowning realization under Bismarck in the aggressive wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870—wars by which Bismarck acquired new provinces for Prussia while welding the congeries of German states into the German Empire. William II., coming now to the throne and making the discovery that the valuable undeveloped and particularly tropical countries of the world had been largely acquired by England

The desire for a "place in the sun"

and France while the German states were distracted by religious wars, covets this "place in the sun" for Germany. The plot to secure the desired territory through aggressive wars was set forth by the Pan-German Union in a political tract published in 1911 and by General Bernhardi in his *Germany and the Next War*, which was published in 1912 (1). The more important events which led up to the launching of this war have been set down in order in the preceding chapter.

The opportunity to strike found

Having prepared the explosive material, it remained only for Germany at the proper moment to apply the fuse or fulminate to set off the charge. This was done in the summer of 1914 through utilizing the opportune assassination at Sarajevo of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. The assassination, which occurred on June 23d, naturally caused a wave of indignation to sweep over Europe and occasioned much disquietude in European chancelleries, where the possibilities of serious danger to the peace of Europe were at once appreciated.

The Austrian papers immediately charged the murder to a Serbian conspiracy This charge was indignantly denied by the Serbian press, which made countercharges based upon the fact that one of the murderers had been regarded in Serbia as a dangerous character. Serbia had before endeavored to expel him from her own territory, in doing which she had encountered opposition from Austria. Both the Serbian royal family and the Serbian Government at once sent messages of condolence, and canceled festivities scheduled for the day in Belgrade, the Serbian capital.

Without giving notification to Serbia, Austria held a secret investigation within the prison at Sarajevo where the criminals were incarcerated; concerning which examination, purporting to extend over nearly a month, no findings were made public or even communicated to diplomats, with the apparent exception of those of Germany. Even from Italy, the third partner in the Triple Alliance, all knowledge of what was going on was carefully withheld. There is abundant evidence that an attempt was made to dispel any disquietude on the part of the several Entente allied governments, and in a number of instances diplomats of the Entente group were given definitely to understand that in case the investigation should reveal that Serbia had been involved in a conspiracy against Austria, the demands upon her would be moderate.

Austria's secret investigation

On the 23d of July, a month after the assassination, the world was almost stupefied under the shock of the publication by Austria of a formidable ultimatum delivered to Serbia at 6 P.M. of that day, making demands for a satisfactory answer within forty-eight hours under penalty of a break of diplomatic relations. The demands upon Serbia included an admission of guilt in a "submersive movement" born under "the eye of the Serbian Government," with the object of detaching territory from Austria, a movement alleged to be fostered by Serbia and participated in by her officials. The Austrian demands required that Serbia make public this admission in the most humiliating manner possible, through announcing it as an order of the day to the army. By demanding, further, that Serbia remove any officers which Austria might see fit to name, and consent

The ultimatum to Serbia

to the coöperation of Austrian officials in suppressing any political movements directed against Austria within Serbian territory, Serbia was to be required to surrender the powers of a sovereign state. Sir Edward Grey has said that he "had never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character" (2, p. 21). The newspaper *Die Post* of Berlin remarked of the Austrian ultimatum with approval: "Every sentence is a blow of the fist in the face of the Serbian Government" (2, p. 21).

The history of the twelve days after the launching of the ultimatum the student should follow in the official reports, especially those of France and Britain, which are not only much the most comprehensive of any but the best edited. The best general summaries are by the able lawyer, Mr. James M. Beck, in his *The Evidence in the Case* (3), and by the distinguished literary and dramatic critic, Mr. William Archer, in *The Thirteen Days* (2). In order to familiarize his readers with the diplomats involved in the correspondence, Beck publishes a list of "The Witnesses," and in Archer's discussion the material is particularly well ordered and admirably concise.

The time chosen to handicap the Allies

There is in the long wait subsequent to the assassination and in the quieting assurances, followed as they were by the discharge of this bombshell over Europe, a most disquieting suggestion of design. This amounts to conviction when we note carefully the time chosen for firing the charge. Some of those most concerned on the side of the allied nations were just then absent from their posts and inaccessible. If Austria were to declare war upon Serbia, Russia, before acting in her rôle of the protector of Serbia, must know whether

she can have the support of France. France in turn must know where England is to stand. Now the sending of the ultimatum was so timed that President Poincaré and M. Viviani, the French Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, had just embarked from St. Petersburg on their return to France, and they could not reach Paris until after the expiration of the ultimatum. Had the time been chosen either twenty-four hours earlier or a few days later, the conditions would have been vastly more favorable for them. Moreover, M. Pachitch, the Serbian Premier, was absent from his post, and though at once recalled, a third of the time allowed by the ultimatum expired before he could reach Belgrade. M. Schebeko, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, having "received an assurance from Count Berchtold [the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs], that the demands on Serbia would be thoroughly acceptable," had actually taken a fortnight's leave of absence.

It is impossible to believe that the time chosen for launching the ultimatum was not especially selected with reference to these obvious handicaps to the allied governments—the whole affair was, in other words, a trap set with full knowledge and carefully adjusted, though most clumsily disguised. Count Forgach, who doubtless prepared the ultimatum, had been the Austrian Ambassador at Belgrade, was known as a successful *agent provocateur*, and it had been proven of him in the trial of Dr. Friedjung at Agram (2, p. 20), that he had forged documents against Serbia. The methods employed at the Austrian legation at Belgrade, under the direction of Count Forgach as Austrian Ambassador, bear close resemblance to those of the Imperial German

Count Forgach's record

Embassy at Washington under Count von Bernstorff, and illustrate what we may now feel quite certain is the well-established system of the German Government.

Berlin gave out that the whole affair concerned only Austria and Serbia, and if in consequence a punitive war were to be inaugurated by Austria, it should be "localized"; further, that in pursuance of this policy she had no more advance knowledge of the nature of Austria's ultimatum than did the other chancelleries though she was in any case bound by her alliance to support Austria. There is, however, abundant evidence that Germany was fully informed in advance, and while the whole subject cannot be gone into at this stage, I may cite a telegram from Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent on July 25th to Sir Horace Rumbold, the British Chargé at Berlin:

Berlin's previous knowledge of ultimatum denied but refuted

"The German Ambassador [Prince Lichnowsky] read me a telegram from the German Foreign Office saying that his Government had not known beforehand, and had had no more than other powers to do with, the stiff terms of the Austrian note to Serbia, but once she had launched that note Austria could not draw back" (4, p. 25).

To show that this claim was false, the French Minister at Munich the day the ultimatum was sent notified his government that the President of the (Bavarian) Council told him that the contents of the note were known to him and in his opinion they could be accepted by Serbia. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, the British Ambassador at Vienna, on July 30th telegraphed Sir Edward Grey:

"Although I am unable to verify it, I have private information that the German Ambassador knew the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was dispatched, and telegraphed it to the German Emperor. I know from the German Ambassador himself that he indorses every line of it." (4, p. 14.)

That keen publicist, Maximilian Harden, has declared:

"If it were for a moment conceivable that the German Chancellor did not know to the last detail what Austria was about to demand of Belgrade, if it were conceivable that such a bombshell as the note to Serbia came as a surprise to us, then we should have to confess that we were not the allies of Austria but her lackeys" (2, p. 26).

The whole question must be dismissed as a clear case of Teuton lying, with which the world is already too familiar.

Returning to Belgrade in haste upon learning of the ultimatum, the Serbian Premier appealed to Russia, and M. Sazonof announced to the press that "Russia cannot remain indifferent to the dispute," and to Vienna he applied for an extension of time. In combination with the representatives of France, Italy, and Germany, Sir Edward Grey endeavored to bring about with Germany a four-Power mediation between Vienna and St. Petersburg. Germany under various pretexts flatly declined to participate. All chancelleries of the Powers save those of Germany and Austria labored assiduously for peace. Of this the evidence is overwhelming. Sir Edward Grey in England and M. Sazonof, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, have left a record which is everlastingly to their credit and that of the countries which they represented. M. Viviani, French Premier, in

Serbia's reply

adopting the extraordinary precaution in the interest of peace of keeping the French "covering troops" on the French-German frontier a distance of ten kilometers behind the boundary, probably went farther than was justifiable in view of the known character of the German Government, and he has since been severely condemned for thus leaving his country open to the German invasion.

Counseled by all the Entente chancelleries to concede everything that was possible, Serbia handed her reply to the Austrian Ambassador a few minutes before the expiration of the ultimatum. In this reply she conceded all the demands with the exception of those which invaded her sovereign rights, and these she agreed to submit either to the Hague Peace Tribunal, or to a conference of the Powers. Baron von Gieslingen, the Austrian Ambassador at Belgrade, on being handed the reply, stopped scarcely long enough to read it, declared it unsatisfactory, and in three quarters of an hour had left by train for Vienna with his entire staff and the equipment of the legation. Sir Edward Grey has expressed to Count Mensdorff, the Austrian Ambassador at London, the opinion that, "the Serbian reply involved the greatest humiliation to Serbia that he had ever seen a country undergo" (2, p. 63). Austria, unable to complain of its tone or contents, declared the Serbian reply to be a sham and insincere.

Did Germany attempt to mediate?

After the reply to the ultimatum, events moved rapidly with England and Russia laboring for peace supported by France and Italy. From the start Russia maintained, what was clear to all neutral nations, that the matter was not merely between Austria and Serbia, but a European question, and on July 25th she stated that in the inter-

est of peace Russia would be quite ready to stand aside and leave the settlement of the question in the hands of England, France, Germany, and Italy. England also made this proposition, though well recognizing that if Germany should refuse to join it, it would be barren of results. This Germany refused to do, saying, "the matter was a domestic one for Austria," and that "Germany could only be guided by her duties as an ally" of Austria.

On July 26th Russia asked Austria, and later Germany, to move to change some of the demands upon Serbia, a request which was not answered by Austria and was refused by Germany. England then asked France, Italy, and Germany to have representatives meet in London for conference. Germany refused. On the 27th France urged that England, France, and Germany again request Serbia and Austria not to invade each other's territory, and that time be given for negotiations. Germany refused. On the same day Russia asked Germany to urge Austria to accept England's suggestion of a conference. This was met with a refusal. The German Chancellor told England that he had started mediation, but that Austria had replied that it was too late. No record has been published of any such interchange.

On the 28th Austria declared war upon Serbia, and now the Kaiser, who to the apparent disappointment of the German Foreign Office had unexpectedly returned from his cruise in Norwegian waters, at 10.45 P.M. in the evening telegraphed to King George and also to the Czar that he would use his influence with Austria to bring about an understanding with Russia. There is no published record of his having done so.

The Kaiser's part

On the 30th, England, France, and Italy urged Germany to suggest some method by which war could be averted. Germany's only answer was that she had asked Austria what would be satisfactory to her and had received no reply. No such communications appear in the record.

The social-democratic party in Germany, which at the Reichstag election of 1912 cast more than a third of the votes of the empire, stated in an editorial of this date in their organ, *Vorwärts:*

". . . the proofs are unfortunately within grasp that the camarilla of war barons is again at work, without the slightest qualm of conscience in order to cover all activities of the government and bring about what is monstrous—the world war, the world conflagration, the devastation of Europe. . . .

"It is not a question of Germany's honor and future, but of a senseless war of adventure which must be stopped as quickly as possible!

"The influence of Germany upon Austria is therefore the paramount issue." (5.)

Austria at eleventh hour gives way only to be blocked by Germany

On the 31st, Austria, for some reason not yet quite clear, agreed to discuss matters with Russia, and her offer was at once accepted with the suggestion that all the Great Powers be invited to a conference and that London be named as the place of meeting. With full knowledge of this, the Kaiser at midnight the same day sent Russia an ultimatum with twelve-hour limit for reply, demanding that she immediately demobilize the Russian army on both the German and Austrian frontiers. There is no evidence that the Russian army had been mobilized against Germany, and only the day before the

Czar had given the Kaiser his promise that the Russian army would take no action so long as negotiations continued. At the time of sending the ultimatum Germany declared martial law—really a state of war—in Germany, and demanded of France with an eighteen-hour limit for reply, whether France would remain neutral in a war between Germany and Russia.

Replying to the Kaiser on August 1st, the Czar stated that he would like the same guarantees from Germany that he had already himself given, and received the reply: "I have shown yesterday to Your Government the way through which alone war may be averted. An immediate, clear, and unmistakable reply of Your Government is the sole way to avoid endless misery."

On this day England pointed out to Germany that Austria and Russia were both willing to negotiate, and that unless Germany wanted war, she should not press matters. This being met by refusal to act, no further attempts could be made by the Entente governments.

The question of mobilization

Because of the enormous advantages to the nation which in the event of war first accomplishes its mobilization, the question of what action the different Powers concerned actually took looking toward mobilization is here of the utmost importance. Austria mobilized at least a portion of her army on the night of July 25th, after she had received from Serbia the reply to her ultimatum, and it is abundantly evident that she mobilized against Russia as well as against Serbia; although the Kaiser declared in a telegram to the Czar on July 29th that this mobilization was against Serbia only. Austria *proclaimed* general mobilization on July 31st. Russia's

mobilization, by reason of her inadequate communications, was exceedingly slow and required about twice as much time as Germany's. On July 25th Russia decided to mobilize against Austria thirteen army corps, though the time of being made effective was left to M. Sazonof. On the 26th the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Count Pourtales, was told by M. Sazonof and by the then Russian Minister of War, that "if Austria crosses the Serbian frontier," the four military districts which face Austria will be mobilized, but that "not a single horse or reservist had been called up." After Austria's declaration of war upon Serbia, M. Sazonof announced on July 28th that mobilization in four southern districts would be proclaimed the next day, and mobilization orders were actually dispatched to these thirteen army corps on the night of the 29th. Partial mobilization in Russia was apparently proclaimed on the 30th, and general mobilization at one o'clock on the morning of the 31st.

In Germany *Kriegsgefahrzustand* (state of danger of war) was proclaimed July 31st and complete mobilization on August 1st. The evidence that mobilization really took place much earlier belongs to a later chapter.

The French Cabinet decided upon mobilization on July 31st and carried it out on August 1st, though troops were everywhere kept ten kilometers behind the frontier.

The cases for the Great Powers stated

The European Powers involved in the war have generally published statements of their respective cases in collections of documents which have each been designated by a definite color. The official documents which in this manner were promptly revealed to the world by the allied governments number 531 (many of them counted more

than once), those by the Central Powers twenty-nine (German *White Book*), these latter being mostly of relative unimportance. After a delay of six months, notwithstanding the fact that her case most needed presentation to the world, Austria issued her *Red Book* with seventy-nine documents. Italy after her entry into the war issued the Italian *Green Book*, and Belgium sent out a second *Gray Book*. The initial presentation of war documents may be summed up as follows:

Entente Allies		Central Powers	
	Documents		*Documents*
English *White Book*	161	German *White Book*	29
French *Yellow Book*	160		
Russian *Orange Book*	79		
Belgian *Gray Book*	79		
Serbian *Blue Book*	52		
	531		29

The French *Yellow Book*, which was edited by M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Berlin, is the most complete and satisfactory of all these books, with the British *White Book* standing next in value. Some of these documents possess such great human and historical interest that they will here be given in their chronological order with but little explanatory matter.

German Foreign Minister's lack of interest in Serbia's reply to ultimatum

On July 27th, M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador of Berlin, asked Herr von Jagow, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, "if he had taken note of the reply of Serbia to Austria which the Serbian *Chargé d'Affaires* had delivered to him that morning. I have not yet had time," he said (4, p. 191).

On July 30th, M. Sazonof made a final proposal to Austria:

"If Austria, recognizing that her dispute with Serbia has assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum the clauses which are damaging to the sovereignty of Serbia, Russia undertakes to stop all military preparations" (4, p. 288).

Sazonof's proposal to Austria

This offer was without effect.

On July 29th, the German Chancellor made to Great Britain the offer that if Britain would remain neutral in the war, she (Germany) would on her part agree not to rob France of territory. Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador at Berlin, promptly asked Herr von Jagow if the French Colonies would be similarly respected; and to this von Jagow refused to commit himself. To this offer of the German Government Sir Edward Grey on July 30th dispatched the following reply:

Germany's attempt to bribe England

"His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms.

"What he asks us is in effect to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is beaten so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies.

"From the material point of view such a proposal is unacceptable, for France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, would be so crushed as to lose her position as a Great Power, and become subordinate to German policy.

"Altogether apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of

France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover.

"The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either." (4, p. 77.)

When Germany's ultimatum was on July 31st dispatched to Russia, Baron von Schoen, the German Ambassador in Paris was instructed to inform the French Government of this step and to ask whether France would agree to remain neutral in the event of a war between Germany and Russia. The French Minister replied to this with the statement that France would do "that which her interests dictated" (4, p. 434).

Viviani's summary of the negotiations with Germany

M. Viviani, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on July 31st admirably summed up the German attitude toward the negotiations in a circular which was dispatched to all French ambassadors:

"Nevertheless the constant attitude of Germany, who, since the beginning of the conflict, while ceaselessly protesting to each Power her peaceful intentions, has actually, by her dilatory or negative attitude, caused the failure of all attempts at agreement, and has not ceased to encourage through her Ambassador the uncompromising attitude of Vienna; the German military preparations begun since the 25th July and subsequently continued without cessation; the immediate opposition of Germany to the Russian formula, declared at Berlin inacceptable for Austria before that Power had even been consulted; in conclusion, all the impressions derived from Berlin bring conviction that Germany has sought to humiliate Russia, to disintegrate the Triple Entente, and, if these results could not be obtained, to make war." (4, p. 221.)

England's offer to Germany

On July 31st, Sir Edward Grey took his political life, so to speak, in his hands in making a proposal to Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador, which is recorded in the following remarkable note sent to the British Ambassador at Berlin:

"I said to the German Ambassador this morning that if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, and go the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences; but, otherwise, I told German Ambassador that if France became involved we should be drawn in" (4, p. 86).

The above document indicates rather clearly that it was not Belgium alone which brought about intervention by Great Britain. Later, in an interview with the French Ambassador in London, Sir Edward Grey, said: "The neutrality of Belgium might be, he would not say a decisive, but an important factor in determining our attitude."

Germany's fixed belief that Russia would not fight

There is much evidence that Germany up to the end believed Russia would hold back from war as she had done in 1908–09 and refuse to come to the defense of Serbia (2, p. 64). On July 25th, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs gave to the British Chargé in Berlin the "opinion that the crisis could be localized." In Vienna the British Ambassador reported to his government that Herr von Tschirschky, the German Ambassador, believed "Russia will keep quiet during the chastisement

of Serbia." In this and other similar dropped opinions, a system of suggestion from Berlin is apparent (6, p. 2).

Prince Lichnowsky tells us in his remarkable memorandum that Herr von Jagow, in answer to a warning from him to the effect that the whole project was "adventurous and dangerous," said that "Russia was not ready; there would doubtless be a certain amount of bluster, but the more firmly we stood by Austria the more would Russia draw back" (7, p. 67).

A very amusing proof that this view was strongly held in the German Chancellery came to light when, on August 1st, the German Ambassador to Russia delivered Germany's declaration of war. After the oral statement to M. Sazonof, Count Pourtales took from his pocket the official statement to hand to the Russian Minister, a mere matter of formality. What was the amazement of the latter upon opening the paper after the German Ambassador had withdrawn, to read in it a very friendly note thanking "Russia for having acceded to the demands of the Imperial Chancellery of Berlin." On bringing the attention of Count Pourtales to this strange document, it was found that he had made a mistake in taking the paper from the wrong pocket, and he thereupon handed over the declaration of war in due form (6, p. 4).

On August 1st, Italy informed Germany that "as the war undertaken by Austria was aggressive and did not fall within the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance . . . Italy could not take part in it" (4, p. 228). The communication of this welcome news to France permitted that country to withdraw the French troops from the Italian frontier and thus greatly strengthen the French position at a most critical moment.

Italy indicates that the war is not defensive on Germany's part

Sir Edward Grey on August 2d officially notified the French Ambassador at London that if the German fleet came into the Channel or into the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against France, the "British fleet will give all the protection in its power" (4, p. 235).

Events of August 2d

On the same day "very early" German troops invaded Luxembourg (really as now known on the preceding day), and Sir Edward Grey notified the French Ambassador of England's attitude toward Belgium and Luxembourg. England felt obligated to defend Belgium's neutrality, alone if necessary; but that of Luxembourg only in concert with other Powers (4, p. 235).

On this day also German troops (5th Mounted Jaegers) penetrated French territory more than ten kilometers, killed a French soldier, and carried off horses. This was protested at Berlin, and it was probably intended to provoke France to declare war.

On August 2d at seven o'clock in the evening a "very confidential" letter was sent to the Belgian Government by Germany in which it was stated that Germany had "reliable information" that French forces intended to march against Germany through Belgium, and feared that Belgium would be "unable without assistance to repell this attack" and consequently preferred to anticipate it. Germany further declared:

Germany's attempt to bribe Belgium

1. If Belgium will maintain friendly neutrality her integrity and independence will be assured at the end of the war.

2. Germany will evacuate Belgian territory on conclusion of peace.

3. Germany will pay her way and compensate for damage.

4. If Belgium opposes, Germany will consider her an enemy.

A reply to this proposal was demanded within twelve hours (4, p. 309).

Very early in the morning on August 3d (1.30 A.M.), Herr von Below, the German Ambassador to Belgium, upon instructions from Berlin, had burst in upon the Belgian Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs, to say that French dirigibles had thrown bombs, and that a French cavalry patrol had crossed the border. The Belgian official inquired "Where?" The answer was "in Germany." Baron van der Elst then observed that in that case he could not understand the object of the communication. Herr von Below replied "that these acts, which were contrary to international law, were calculated to lead to the supposition that other acts contrary to international law would be committed by France" (4, p. 312).

These alleged depredations have since been shown to be fictitious, but the interview has its comic as well as its tragic side (2, p. 192).

On August 3d, Belgium replied to Germany's ultimatum in a document which Archer has well characterized as in "marked and illuminating contrast" with Germany's demands (2, p. 194). "On the one side, menace, bribery, chicanery; on the other side, sincerity, honesty, and unswerving, though unmenacing resolution." The reply in part follows:

Belgium's reply

"The Belgian Government, if they were to accept the proposal submitted to them, would sacrifice the honor of the nation and betray their duty towards Europe.

"Conscious of the part which Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, they

refuse to believe that the independence of Belgium can only be purchased at the price of violation of her neutrality.

"If this hope is disappointed, the Belgian Government are firmly resolved to repel, by all the means in their power, every attack upon their rights." (4, p. 312.)

Belgium's protection from invasion as a recompense for her "perpetual neutrality" had been guaranteed through an agreement of the Powers in 1830, confirmed in 1831 and 1839 with the Great Powers, including Prussia. In 1870 Prussia joined with France and England in reinsuring Belgium's neutrality. In 1911 and in 1913 the German Foreign Secretary stated that "the neutrality of Belgium is determined by international convention and Germany is resolved to respect those conventions" (8, p. 279). On August 2, 1914, in answer to a request for a new declaration of Germany's attitude toward Belgian neutrality, Herr von Below, the German Ambassador replied "that up to the present he had not been instructed to make us an official communication, but that we knew his personal opinion as to the feelings of security which we had the right to entertain towards our earlier neighbors" (4, p. 309).

Belgian neutrality

Better than any one else, William Archer has stated the case as regards Germany's attitude toward Belgium:

"No one maintains that all treaties should be binding for ever. Had Germany denounced the treaty of 1839, and given fair warning that she did not intend to be bound by it, her cause would have been truculent but upright. But that was not the course she took. She lied up to the last moment, in order to take Belgium as nearly as possible unprepared. History has doubtless acts of equal baseness to show, but I think it would be difficult to point to an outrage at once so

deliberately planned, so treacherous in method, and so vast in scale." (2, p. 11.)

Upon Belgian territory being violated by Germany, King Albert appealed to King George of England in the following memorable words:

"Remembering the numerous proofs of Your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship you have just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of Your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium" (4, p. 107).

King Albert's appeal to Great Britain

At the outbreak of the war Germany took an action which recalls her successful American propaganda to prevent America's entry upon her responsibilities in the war, when she said through American pacifists and German propagandists that America by entering the war would really aid Germany through stopping the shipment of munitions to the Allies. To the British press she communicated the argument that British neutrality would really not injure France, but would, on the contrary, give her as much strategic and even more diplomatic help. Any help by land, she urged, would be negligible "considering the enormous numbers engaged," and Germany would agree to make no attack on France "in the north" (2, p. 196). Does this argument sound familiar to Americans?

Press propaganda by Germany in Great Britain

As Germany began to launch her armies against Belgium, she spread many fake stories of aggression (6), none of which she ever took the trouble later to attempt seriously to substantiate, and the French

Ambassador at Berlin was instructed by his government "to draw the attention of the Foreign Office to the German campaign of false news which is beginning" (4, p. 240).

Manner of declaring war on France

At 6.45 P.M. of August 3d Baron von Schoen handed the German declaration of war to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. After reciting various alleged violations of neutrality by France, the declaration went on to say:

"In the presence of these acts of aggression the German Empire considers itself in a state of war with France in consequence of the acts of this latter power" (4, p. 240).

To her own undoing in a military sense, France had kept her "covering troops" ten kilometers behind her frontier, notwithstanding the fact that Germany had invaded her territory killed a Frenchman, stolen horses, and taken possession of her vitally important ore deposits two full days before declaration of war. We shall return to this in a later chapter.

Germany's belated excuse for invading Belgium

At six o'clock in the morning of August 4th Germany officially declared war upon Belgium, though Belgian territory had already been invaded. The German Ambassador in London was requested to "dispel any distrust" by assuring the British Government that "Germany would under no pretense annex Belgian territory. . . . Germany had to disregard Belgian neutrality it being for her a question of life and death to prevent a French advance."

In the German *Reichstag* the Chancellor confessed:

"We are faced with the necessity of self-defense; and necessity knows no law.

"Our troops have occupied Luxembourg and have perhaps already entered Belgium. This is contrary to the dictates of international law. . . . A French attack upon our front in the region of the lower Rhine might have been fatal. We were therefore compelled to override the legitimate protests of the governments of Luxembourg and Belgium. For the wrong—I speak frankly—the wrong that we are thus doing, we will make reparation as soon as our military object is attained.

The Chancellor's Reichstag confession

"Any one in such great danger as ourselves, and who is struggling for his supreme welfare can have only one thought: how to hack his way through." (2, p. 199.)

Later, awkward attempts were made to cover up this frank admission of guilt. The German authorities in taking possession of the Belgian capital discovered there the record of a *conversation* entered into between Colonel Bernadiston, the British Military Attaché, and the Belgian general, Ducarne, concerning measures which might be taken for joint action *in case Belgium should be attacked by Germany*. This "conversation," which was purely defensive and was never ratified, was by the German Government modified through quite as serious changes of its intent as characterized Bismarck's falsification of the Ems telegram in 1870. In the German translation of the above conversation, a translation which was published in the semi-official organ, the *Norddeutscher Allgemeine Zeitung*, there appeared (1) an omission, (2) a slight addition, and (3) a false translation which fully altered the meaning. In the translation the phrase, "in case Belgium was attacked by Germany," was left out, there was inserted before the date at the end the word "concluded" (*abgeschlossen*), and the word "conversation" in the original was changed into "agreement." Thus the document

appeared in Germany as an agreement or treaty concluded between Great Britain and Belgium and without any regard to the defense of Belgium's neutrality, as had been clearly indicated and stated (9, p. 95).

England stands by Belgium

Upon receiving news of the German declaration of war upon Belgium, Sir Edward Grey directed Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador at Berlin, to repeat the demand for a satisfactory reply to England's request that Belgian and French territory be respected, and if reply was not received by twelve o'clock, midnight, to ask for his passports and say "that His Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves" (4, p. 159).

The scrap of paper

It was in presenting this demand that the now famous "scrap of paper" declaration was made by the Imperial German Chancellor. The conversation was reported by Sir Edward Goschen as follows:

"I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word 'neutrality'—a word that in wartime had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office, had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain

responsible for all the terrible events that might happen. I protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could anyone have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future." (4, p. 111.)

Germany's specific policy with England a trap

It had unquestionably been Germany's policy under von Bethmann-Hollweg to so maneuver as to keep England out of the struggle until France and Russia had been disposed of, and the Chancellor's vexation over his failure is easily to be comprehended, particularly as he had to answer to his royal master. We may content ourselves for the present by citing the frank statement of General von Bernhardi:

"A pacific agreement with England, is, after all, a Will-o-the-Wisp which no serious German statesman would trouble to follow" (1).

Prince Lichnowsky's charge against Germany

The startling revelations in the memoirs of Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador at London, which were published in 1918, supply us with an excellent summary of this entire period of the negotiations. They condemn Germany as the arch-culprit, guilty of planning and launching the war, and this with a certainty which no testimony from unfriendly sources could have done. The Prince's conclusions as to the question of guilt are:

"As appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own White Book which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

"1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world war must have been known to us, whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

"2. In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazonof emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack upon Serbia, we rejected the British proposal of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement upon the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

"3. On July 30th, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobilization by sending an ultimatum to Petersburg, and on July 31st we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

"In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside of Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world war." (7, pp. 80.)

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III

THE PLOT AGAINST DEMOCRACY

"The Kaiser and the Chancellor
Were walking hand in hand;
They wept like anything to see
Such lots of foreign land;
'If this were only Germanized,'
They said, 'It *would* be grand!'"

Malice in Kulturland.

"In reality, then, the endless concessions made to Germany by France, Russia, and Great Britain, with the best intentions, have simply tempted them to claim more and more. That is why it is just and reasonable to conclude that the concessions hitherto made by the present Allies, under the influence of the pacifists, have acted as a constant aggravation of German ambitions, from which the war has resulted. In the last analysis, pacifism created the peculiar atmosphere, indispensable to the growth and development of the poisonous plant, Pangermanism."—ANDRÉ CHÉRADAME.

A. THE EARLIER STAGES

Evidence of Germany's plot aside from official documents

IN the last lecture was discussed the launching of the war as revealed in diplomatic documents which passed between the chancelleries of the Great Powers, chiefly during the twelve days between July 23 and August 4, 1914. The most cursory examination of these documents indicates that the attitude of Germany had not been in the direction of peace and mediation, as was claimed by her; and a careful study of them leads to a definite conviction that she did everything with reference solely to a realization of her ambitions for

world power and conquest. Whatever seemed to point in any other direction must now be ascribed to her desire to mislead the world concerning her motives and intentions.

So soon as we look deeper into the sources lying outside the official documents, we are met with such an accumulation of evidence indicating hypocrisy and naked depravity, as has perhaps never been equaled in the history of the world. It is therefore proper for us to treat the subject, even though it concerns the authorized official acts of a so-called "Christian state," in the same way that one does the gruesome and but half-concealed details of common murder. Our attitude in unearthing the evidence must, therefore, be that of the detective in a murder case, who has no respect whatever for statements, assertions here solemnly made by Germany's rulers or by her duly authorized representatives, unless these statements are supported by the facts.

In presenting the evidence I must assume the attitude of a prosecuting attorney supported by a large body of reputable witnesses, a considerable mass of depositions, and three repentant defendants who have turned the state's evidence. These latter are no less important personages than the German Imperial Ambassador to Great Britain, the multimillionaire "steel king" and former friend of the Kaiser, and a former director of the great Krupp steel works at Essen, the largest in Germany. In addition to these witnesses, Herr Liebknecht, the German socialist leader, has added his confession. My brief in this case will of necessity be long in order to cover all the charges in the indictment.

State's evidence in the case

The subject of Germany's guilt can be approached

from either of two angles: on the one hand, the verified statements of the German Kaiser and officials, as well as those of German approved publicists; on the other hand, the actions themselves. In murder trials it is deemed important to show that a motive for the crime has existed, and to support this, if possible, by statements made by the defendants. So soon as we apply this method to Germany we encounter such an overwhelming array of evidence that, for lack of space, we are compelled to exercise discretion in rejecting what is only a little less important than the rest.

The plan hinted at in the Kaiser's speeches

We have seen how for the period before 1870, the date of the welding together of the German Empire, the will to power was dominant from the beginning, and was personified in Bismarck, the maker of Prussianized Germany. After William II. had "dropped the pilot" and taken over the reins of power, we have only to read his speeches to be disillusioned if we have ever been doubtful of Germany's intentions. I quote:

"Germany's greatness makes it impossible for her to do without the ocean; but the ocean also bears witness that, even in the distance and on its farther side, without Germany and the German Emperor no great decisions dare be taken" (1, p. 5).

"Our German Fatherland [to] whom I hope it will be granted, through the harmonious coöperation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said '*Civis romanus sum*,' hereafter, at some time in the future they will say, 'I am a German citizen'" (2, p. 21).

These speeches of the Kaiser were delivered as long ago as 1900. A few years later he said:

"The Great Emperor [William I.] with his great aides laid the basis, the cornerstone of the building; it is for us to build upon it. . . . A great future awaits us if we are but determined to make it so.

Germans the "salt of the earth"

"God would never have taken such great pains with our German Fatherland and its people, if He had not been preparing us for something still greater. We are the salt of the earth." (1, p. 5.)

After the outbreak of the war the emperor's speeches were, if anything, even more truculent, as the two following examples will show:

"I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am His sword, His agent. Woe and death to all those who shall oppose my will! Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to the cowards!

"Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people! God demands their destruction, God, who by my mouth, bids you to do his will!

"The triumph of the Greater Germany, which some day must dominate all Europe, is the single end for which we are fighting." (1, p. 5.)

In 1894 there was organized in Germany the Pan-German Union (*Alldeutscher Verband*) to promote expansion of the empire by conquest. In the following year this union issued a tract entitled *Greater Germany and Central Europe about the Year 1950* (3). It was in the year 1895 that Germany's Baltic Canal was completed within the territory wrested from Denmark, a work which

The Pan-German Union

since it permitted Germany's warships to slip into the Baltic or the North Sea at will, greatly increased the strategic possibilities of Germany in the exercise of naval power. When now the Jameson raid occurred in British South Africa, Germany threw off the mask and in effect sent a challenge to England through her telegram of sympathy and support to President Kruger. On this occasion Germany was promptly cowed by the almost immediate mobilization of the British "Flying Squadron," and she nursed her wrath as she planned still larger programs of naval construction, first made public in 1898.

In 1911 the scheme of conquest which had been outlined by the Pan-German Union in 1895 was developed with greater fullness in a work purporting to be written by Otto Richard von Tannenberg, but believed to be inspired and probably the work of the Kaiser or his representative. The book is entitled *Greater Germany the Task of the Twentieth Century* (4).

A few extracts from this inspired work of the Pan-Germans will reveal its mainsprings:

Tannenberg's "Greater Germany"

"Our fathers have left us much to do. In compensation, the German nation holds a position among the European Powers that permits it at once to reach its goal by a single rapid rush. At the present time, the German nation finds itself in a position similar to that of Prussia at the beginning of the reign of Frederick the Great. He raised his country to the rank of a great European Power. It is Germany's task today to pass from the position of a European Power to that of a World War.

"The German people must take possession of Central Africa, from the mouth of the Orange River to Lake Tchad, and from the Cameroon Mountains to the mouth of the

River Rovuma. They must take possession of Asia Minor; of the Malayan Archipelago in Southeastern Asia; and finally of the southern part of South America. Only then will Germany possess a colonial empire that will correspond to her actual power.

"A policy of sentiment is folly. Enthusiasm for humanity is idiocy. Charity should begin among one's compatriots. Politics is business. Right and wrong are notions needed in civil life only.

"The German people is always right, because it is the German people and because it numbers 87,000,000. (4, p. 78.)

The figure given for the German people has generously included a supposed twenty millions outside of Germany. Now the significance of the political tract of which the above extracts are samples, is that it is at least semi-official, the junker or governing class being almost all Pan-German, and because the plans of conquest here outlined have been shown to reflect the German Government's colonial ambitions—the scheme of the great central block in Africa, Asia Minor, the Malayan intrigues, and the great movement in Southern Brazil, Argentine, and Chili. The same may be said to characterize the work as a whole.

Next in influence to the Pan-German Union was the semi-official *Flotten-Verein* or Navy League, with its million members, a league organized in 1898 when the German plan for sea power first began to take shape. That year is further made notable by two great departures in German policy: (1) Germany set out to challenge England's supremacy upon the sea on which her life as a sovereign power rested; and (2) the Kaiser journeyed to Constantinople and Damascus in order to

Sea power and the Drang nach Osten

carry out alliances with "the unspeakable Turk" and to declare himself the protector of Islam, a step which marks the opening of the German movement of expansion towards the Persian Gulf. This *Drang nach Osten* took more tangible form during the succeeding year in the concession to Germany for the Bagdad railway project.

The challenge to England of Germany's great naval program was well understood throughout Germany, though it was little heeded among the common people of England. The Kaiser said openly, "Germany's future lies upon the water," and to his brother, Prince Henry, he telegraphed: "I will never rest until I have raised the German navy to the position which the German army holds to-day." Since the German army was superior to any in Europe, this sentence carries no ambiguity of meaning.

German forecasts of conquest

The year 1898, the date of announcing Germany's great septennial naval program, was also the year of the Spanish-American War. It will be remembered that the Kaiser sent to Manila a fleet more powerful than Admiral Dewey's, and this advantage was made use of by the German Admiral von Diedrichs to annoy the American admiral in many petty ways. Americans have not forgotten that von Diedrichs even went so far as to sound Captain (afterwards the late Admiral) Chichester, who was in command of the British squadron, by asking him what would be his attitude if he (von Diedrichs) should attempt more serious interference with Dewey's plans. The reply came promptly: "That is known only to Admiral Dewey and myself." It was at about this time that Captain Count von Goetzen of the German fleet and a personal friend of the Kaiser is said

to have made the statement to Major H. A. Barber, U. S. A., that "in about fifteen years" (1913) Germany would declare war, take Paris in about two months, and then obtain her real object in the crushing of England, and that "some months after we finish our work in Europe" Germany would take New York and probably Washington and hold them "for some time" for an indemnity; and also for the purpose of "taking charge of South America."

Fully matured plans for the landing of a German army upon the Atlantic coast of the United States were worked out in great detail some three years later by Freiherr von Edelsheim of the German Great General Staff (5).

Secret plottings of the Kaiser

There have been times when special opportunity seemed to presage for Germany an earlier realization of her ambitions than that called for in the plans of the Pan-German Union, which were based on the certain conditions after the fleet had been brought to great strength in capital ships, and after other premeditated plans had been carried through on the basis of the then existing alliances of European Powers.

Such an opportune occasion was created in 1904. The Kaiser was at the time egging on the Russian Emperor to fight Japan, both because Japan was the ally of England and because Russia would by the war be weakened in a military sense and thus require a smaller number of German troops to be neutralized in the defense of Germany's eastern frontier. The secret correspondence which went on at this time between the Kaiser and the Czar was discovered by the Revolutionary government and recently made public in communications by Hermann Bernstein (6). This

correspondence shows that the Kaiser tried to nullify the Dual Alliance of France and Russia through concluding a secret treaty between Germany and Russia and embroiling Russia with England.

The Dogger Bank episode in a new light

In the light of this correspondence the Dogger Bank episode, in which Admiral Rojestvensky's fleet of war vessels en route to the Far East fired upon and sunk British trawlers, with the result that two British fishermen were killed and six wounded, now takes on a new aspect. It has been shown upon the authority of the *Echo de Paris* that Germany assured Russia Japanese torpedo vessels were planning to attack the fleet at the place where the Dogger Bank episode actually occurred, though it is known that no Japanese vessels were in European waters at all. So many statements by alleged witnesses have been made that torpedo boats of some nationality were actually seen in the vicinity and were believed to be German, that the German Government felt it necessary on November 1, 1904, to declare officially that "according to telegraphic information from the North Sea naval stations, there were no German torpedo boats in the neighborhood of the Dogger Bank on the night in question." Knowing Germany as we do now, we place little reliance upon this statement and interpret it to mean that large torpedo boats, which would be classed as destroyers, were probably present, since the statement agreed in reporting large torpedo boats.

The "Willy-Nicky" secret correspondence shows that the Kaiser labored diligently to embroil Russia with England over Germany's coaling of the Russian fleet, apparently to the end that the Dogger Bank

episode might result in an explosion and bring on war (6).

As a sort of sequel to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1909 in defiance of the Treaty of Berlin, Bulgaria acquired her independence of Turkey with an Austrian colonel as her ruler, who as Ferdinand I. assumed the absolute title of Tsar. It has now been stated in the Paris *Temps* of February 29, 1916, that without the knowledge of Austria, Germany at some time before the present war concluded a secret treaty with Ferdinand of Bulgaria. According to M. Gabriel Hanotaux, the eminent French historian, it is a question of a treaty "binding the fate of Bulgaria to that of Germany, militarily, economically, and politically. Bulgaria entered into the German federation." Charles I. of Austria in his present difficulties is finding that there is a Prussia to the south of him as well as to the north, and that in reward for her aid to Prussia Bulgaria is, rather than Austria, to have the opportunity of expansion to Salonica and the south in the event that Prussian plans of conquests are realized (7).

Prussian secret treaty with Bulgaria

Under the able guidance of M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, France and England were able in 1911 to compose their differences in various parts of the world, notably in Newfoundland, Egypt, and Morocco, and to come to an understanding—the *Entente Cordiale*. Almost immediately this coming together of the two western European Powers was defied in a most spectacular manner through Germany's sending of her gunboat *Panther* to Agadir in Morocco. Through this affront she was able to force the resignation of M. Delcassé, but the Guild Hall speech of Lloyd

Attempt to break up the Entente in 1911

George, the then British Chancellor of the Exchequer, served notice upon Germany that the coalition was solid, and French and British bankers took concerted action against Germany, which once more cowed her and compelled her to nurse her wrath without having accomplished her purpose.

It seems altogether likely that, as a consequence of this clash, the preparations for Germany's assault took on such definite form that the date of consummation and all larger issues were at this time fully provided for. All schoolhouses constructed in Germany after 1911 were built with special reference to their transformation into hospitals and provided with elaborate water connections and extra partitions stored in reserve.

General von Bernhardi's revelations

It was in 1911 that there was issued the great tract of the Pan-German Union which has been cited, and the character of the coming war was now preached to the German people by General von Bernhardi of the German Great General Staff with a frankness which is nothing short of astounding. This will be clear if I cite a few paragraphs from many similar ones in his *Germany and the Next War* and his *How Germany Makes War*, the first of which passed through many German editions with the evident support of the government:

"Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country and of mankind. This will invest it with importance in the world's history. 'World power or downfall' will be our rallying cry." (8, p. 114.)

"It is impossible to change the partition of the earth, as it now exists, in our favor by diplomatic artifices. If we wish to gain the position in the world that is due to us, we must rely on our sword, renounce all weakly visions of peace." (9, p. xiii.)

"Especially in a State which is so wholly based on war as is the German Empire, the only manly principle of keeping all our forces on the stretch must never be abandoned out of deference to the effeminate philosophy of the day" (8, p. 261).

"Above all things, it [German policy] must be ready to seize the psychological moment and take bold action if the general position of affairs indicates the possibility of realizing political ambitions, or of waging a necessary war under favorable conditions" (8, p. 275).

"If we attack France or Russia, the ally would be compelled to bring help, and we should be in a far worse position than if we had only one enemy to fight. Let it then be the task of our diplomacy to so shuffle the cards that we may be attacked by France, for then there would be reasonable prospect that Russia for a time would remain neutral." (8, p. 280.)

"France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path" (8, p. 105).

Though this book accomplished its purpose in educating the German people to accept the war, it was nevertheless after the war had been launched a source of serious embarrassment to the German Government. To F. C. Walcott of the Belgian Relief Commission, General von Bernhardi said in an interview: "Do you know, my friends nearly ran me out of the country for that. They said, 'You have let the cat out of the bag.' I said, 'No, I have not, because nobody will believe it'" (10).

Sealed war orders issued to merchant vessels in 1912

It was in 1912 that sealed war codes and orders were issued to one, and presumably to all, ocean liners in the German merchant marine, these war orders to be opened whenever a message was received having reference to some disease and signed "Siegfried." It was the use of this war code by Captain Polack of the *Kron-*

prinzessin Cecilie, when en route from New York to Germany with a great consignment of gold, which enabled him to interpret a wireless message and return to New York in time to escape possible capture by British cruisers at the outbreak of the war. This incident is interesting particularly for the reason that though the wireless message which conveyed the information was received at ten o'clock in the evening (11.45 P.M. Greenwich time) of July 31st it read: "War has broken out with England, France, and Russia. Turn back to New York." Now war did not break out with France until three days later, and with England till four days later. It was in evidence in the Federal Court which tried the case of the disposition of the vessel's cargo, that the word "Siegfried," which was signed to the message, meant, "The Board of Directors of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company" (11, p. 946).

Germany's three-year army bill of 1912

In June, 1912, Germany made an extraordinary addition to the strength of the German army, already much the most powerful in Europe. Among other things this bill increased the period of army service from two years to three, so that a much larger number of highly trained men would come under arms at one time. The financial burdens entailed by this bill were so heavy, that to quiet complaints it was whispered about that it would not be a continuing burden since matters would now be settled. France realizing its peril through this obvious threat of an early war, duly reported by the French Ambassador at Berlin, attempted in some measure to meet the menace by enacting a similar law in France. It was not, however, until the following

year and after three ministries had fallen one after the other, that the three-year term for the French army was even authorized. Furthermore, the French law could not become effective as regards men actually in training by the summer of 1914, whereas Germany's army law would then be in full effect. Yet no sooner did news of the French act reach Germany than a new *Wehrbeitrag*, or Supplementary Defense Act was passed, providing still larger additions to the army and defense on an additional appropriation of no less than $250,000,000 (12, p. 128). It is this supplementary legislation by Germany that has been utilized to propagate the German lie that France acted first and that Germany only followed her lead in army increases. The secret document secured by the French and published below shows how Germany's plan of the supplementary army bill is related to the action by the French Government.

The secret memorandum on strengthening the German army

In April of 1913, a secret memorandum dealing with the strengthening of the German army came into the hands of the French, and since it clearly reveals the plans of the German Government, citations from it will be found instructive. It is dated "Berlin, March 19, 1913":

"(2) . . . At that time [Agadir, 1911] the progress made by the French army, the moral recovery of the nation, the technical advance in the realm of aviation and of machine guns *rendered an attack on France less easy* than in the previous period. Further an attack by the British fleet has to be considered. This difficult situation opened our eyes to the necessity for an increase of the army. This increase was from this moment considered as a minimum.

"(3) . . . On the other hand, France was strengthened by a new *Loi des cadres;* it was accordingly *necessary to anticipate the date of execution contemplated by the new military law.*

Government molding of public opinion

"Public opinion is being prepared for a new increase in the active army, which would ensure Germany an honorable peace and the possibility of properly ensuring her influence in the affairs of the world. *The new army law and the supplementary law which should follow will enable her to attain this end.*

"It is our sacred duty to sharpen the sword that has been put into our hands and to hold it ready for defense as well as for offense. *We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French.* We must accustom them to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversary. We must act with prudence so as not to arouse suspicion. . . . We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations an outbreak should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870. . . . We must not arouse the mistrust of our financiers, but there are many things which cannot be concealed." (12, p. 130.)

"We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. The final results in Europe will settle their position. On the other hand we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. . . . It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war. Of course in case of war we should openly recognize these secret Allies. . . .

Uprisings planned in enemy countries

"Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They

must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of communication; they must have a controlling head to be found among the influential leaders, religious or political. . . .

"However this may be, we must be strong in order to annihilate at one awful swoop our enemies in the east and west. But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small states should be forced to follow us or be subdued. . . . This will probably be the case with Belgium and Holland.

The date of the assault fixed

"The arrangements made with this end in view allow us to *hope that it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower Rhine.* An ultimatum, with a short time limit to be followed immediately by invasion, would allow a sufficient justification for our action in international law." (12, p. 137.)

This illuminating document, issued seventeen months before the assault planned by Germany was carried out, fixed clearly the date of the consummation in the lines which I have italicized above, as will be shown in the next lecture in connection with other evidence.

NOTE. The references for this and the succeeding Chapter are printed together at the conclusion of Chapter IV.

IV

THE PLOT AGAINST DEMOCRACY—*Continued*

"I first of all take; I always find pedants to prove my rights."—FREDERICK II. ("the Great") of Prussia.

"In 1912 the Kaiser called together the Captains of Industry of Germany, revealed to them the plan of assault, and secured their co-operation by the promise of loot. The rich empire of England, with India, Australia, and Canada was parceled out in concessions, and development promised from the Imperial Bank of Germany at the low interest rate of three per cent."—AUGUST THYSSEN, German "Steel King," Confession of 1918.

"*It is not true* that Germany is guilty of having caused this war. Neither the people, the government, nor the Kaiser wanted war. Germany did her utmost to prevent it; for this assertion the world has documentary proof."—NINETY-THREE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED GERMAN PROFESSORS.

"The German professors have been styled 'the intellectual body-guard of the Hohenzollerns,' and, indeed, if they are not an ornament of free science, they are certainly a source of satisfaction to our Government."—HERMANN FERNAU.

B. THE FINAL PREPARATIONS

THERE are three dominating reasons why the year 1914 was chosen by Germany for her great assault: (1) the Baltic Canal at Kiel, which had been built as a war measure when Germany's naval policy favored small capital ships, and which had to be deepened and widened to permit the passage of her dreadnaughts and super-dreadnaughts built after Togo's victory of the Straits

Reasons for the choice of 1914 for the assault

of Shimonoseki, was to be completed in June, 1914; (2) the army bill of 1911, the great three-year army bill of 1912, and the special supplementary army bill of 1913 were all to become effective in the summer of 1914, whereas the new army increases authorized by France in 1913 to meet Germany's increases of 1912 would not then be ready, furthermore, the new universal service law in Belgium would at that time become effective for only about two army corps (eighty thousand men) instead of between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand men when in final operation; (3) important strategic railways of Russia, which under the terms of the Dual Alliance were to be built by Russia for the defense of her western frontier, would not at that time be constructed.

According to the report of General Kuropatkin made in 1900, Austria had eight railways feeding the Austro-Russian frontier, to Russia's four; and the German-Russian boundary, though supplied by but five railways of approach on the Russian side, had seventeen on the German side, besides one which paralleled the frontier and linked all together (13, p. 99).

In 1912, Kaiser Wilhelm called together the German captains of industry, revealed to them the plan of assault, and secured their coöperation by the promise of loot. The rich empire of England, with India, Australia, and Canada, was here, it is claimed, parceled out in concessions, and capital for development was promised from the Imperial Bank of Germany at the low interest rate of three per cent. This has all been set forth in the letter of confession of the great "Steel King," the German "Andrew Carnegie," Herr August Thyssen,

Captains of industry told and bribed by promise of loot

which confession was made public in a letter of January, 1918. (14). Herr Thyssen says:

"I am writing this pamphlet because I want to open the eyes of Germans, especially of the business community, to facts. When the Hohenzollerns wanted to get the support of the commercial class for their war plans, they put their ideas before us as a business proposition. A large number of business and commercial men were asked to support the Hohenzollern war policy on the ground that it would pay them to do so. Let me frankly confess that I am one of those who were led to agree to support the war plan when this appeal was made to the leading business men of Germany in 1912–13. I was led to do so, however, against my better judgment. . . .

"I was personally promised a free grant of 30,000 acres in Australia and a loan from the Deutsche Bank of £150,000 at 3 per cent. to enable me to develop my business in Australia. Several other firms were promised special trading facilities in India, which was to be conquered by Germany, be it noted, by the end of 1915. . . .

"These promises were not vaguely given. They were made definitely by Bethmann-Hollweg on behalf of the Emperor to gatherings of business men, and in many cases to individuals. . . . All particulars of these promises were entered in a book at the Trades Department.

Promises of loot given by Chancellor and Kaiser direct

"But not only were these promises made by the Chancellor; they were confirmed by the Emperor, who, on three occasions, addressed large private gatherings of business men in Berlin, Munich, and Cassel in 1912 and 1913. I was at one of these gatherings. . . .

"The Emperor was particularly enthusiastic over the coming German conquest of India. 'India,' he said, 'is occupied by the British. It is in a way governed by the British, but it is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India. We shall conquer it, and the vast revenues that the

India to be given over to Kultur

British allow to be taken by Indian princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland. In all the richest lands of the earth the German flag will fly over every other flag.' . . .

"According to the promises of the Hohenzollern, victory was to have been achieved in December, 1915. . . ." (14.)

After reading this outline of the Kaiser's cold-blooded program of conquest and pillage, we may profitably listen to the address of this "Christian Emperor" to his troops upon the Somme battle front:

"Comrades, it is your especial privilege to fight against the English. . . . The English built up during the years before the war the combination of countries which at a given signal fell upon us, attacked us, the most peaceful and peace-desiring people in the world. The English led us to believe they were our friends, when they were actually plotting our destruction."

Property of steel magnate confiscated

But what induced Herr Thyssen to divulge these damning facts concerning the German plan of conquest? When success had not been achieved as promised, the German captains of industry were by the government called upon both for subscriptions to the war fund and for immense loans. Herr Thyssen refused these demands and by indirect methods his immense properties, estimated to be worth fifty millions of dollars, were in consequence confiscated by the German Government. Most of the other magnates preferred to submit. It has often been pointed out that Thyssen is not a typical German, and this judgment has now been confirmed, for otherwise he would have submitted without protest to the authorities.

Dr. W. Muehlon, formerly a director of the great Krupp plant at Essen, has made revelations regarding confidences which were made to him by Dr. Helfferich, in 1914, when the latter was director of the Deutsche Bank, and also by Herr Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach. When Dr. Muehlon reported the confidences of Helfferich to von Bohlen, the latter seemed surprised that Helfferich should have possessed the information and, according to Muehlon, said: "After all, these government people can never keep their mouths quite shut"; adding that "he had himself been with the Kaiser during the last few days. The Kaiser had spoken to him too about his conversation with the Austrians and its result, but had so emphasized the secrecy of the matter, that he [von Bohlen] would not have ventured to tell even his own board of directors. But as I already knew about it, he could tell me that Helfferich's statements were correct." Helfferich's statements show conclusively that Germany possessed full information that in eight days' time Vienna would deliver a very strongly worded ultimatum to Serbia which would have a quite short time-limit, and would demand "punishment of a number of officers, dissolution of political associations, criminal investigations in Serbia with the coöperation of officials of the Dual Monarchy. In fact, immediate satisfaction will be demanded on a number of definite issues, failing which Austria-Hungary will declare war on Serbia."

Confessions of Dr. Muehlon, an ex-director of Krupp's

Dr. Muehlon adds that the ultimatum was issued at just the time predicted. After it had been sent, Dr. Muehlon saw Helfferich again and was told by him that the Kaiser's Scandinavian cruise was only a blind (15).

In the same year that the business men of Germany were taken into the confidence of the German Government, in 1912, an Italian Ambassador, believed to be safe and Prussophile, was also secretly informed. This supposedly safe man was the Marquis Garroni, the Italian Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. The information was conveyed to the marquis, probably without the knowledge of the German Government, by Count von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador at Constantinople, a diplomat who has indiscreetly given away other secrets of his government and is now reported to have met his death in a mysterious manner. Marquis Garroni, who was a warm personal friend of the powerful pro-German Italian statesman, the former Prime Minister Giolitti, did not notify his government. In response to a popular demand he is now in disgrace, since Giolitti, after keeping his secret, finally made it public and it appears in the press dispatches from Milan of April 8, 1918.

The plot secretly revealed to an Italian statesman

During the Balkan War of 1913, Austria asked Italy to join her in an attack upon Serbia under the terms of the Triple Alliance. This request was submitted through San Giuliano during the absence of the Premier Giolitti. The request was turned down by Italy, but the facts were first made public in a speech by Signor Giolitti in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on December 5, 1914 (12, p. 401). The reply sent to Austria was: "If Austria intervenes against Serbia it is clear that a *casus fœderis* cannot be established; it is a step which she is taking on her own account since there is no question of defense, inasmuch as no one is thinking of attacking her."

Austria's sounding of Italy concerning attack on Serbia

In the same year the Kaiser in the presence of Count von Moltke divulged the plan of conquest to King Albert of Belgium, who presumably gave the information either directly or indirectly to the French Ambassador at Berlin, by whom at least it was promptly communicated to the French Government (12, p. 142). At this interview Count von Moltke supported the statements of his royal master and added: "This time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when the day comes."

King Albert of Belgium is told

Now I was myself in Budapest in 1912 as the guest of an Hungarian nobleman since killed in the war. He told me that it was the plan of the Austro-Hungarian Government to punish Serbia after the Balkan War of that year had ended; and that even then the Austrian army was mobilized with two Austrian army corps operating with the German army upon the French frontier in Alsace. This information, which I afterwards confirmed from other sources, thus appears to-day as the revelation of a sort of dress rehearsal for the present war; since it will perhaps be remembered that two Austrian army corps, and only two, participated in the initial operations upon the Western Front in the fall of 1914 (16, p. 8).

In the secret German memorandum which came into the possession of the French Government in the spring of 1913 (see ante, p. 61), the hope is expressed that "it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower Rhine." This somewhat cryptic statement was cleared up when in May, 1914, "Exceptional Grand Maneuvers" were announced in

The "Exceptional Grand Maneuvers"

which five hundred thousand troops would take part, and which were to assemble close to the French frontier in August of that year.

Such grand maneuvers are preceded by the bringing together of large bodies of troops, and an interesting sidelight upon these maneuvers of the army of the Lower Rhine has now been supplied by our own minister at The Hague, whose piscatorial interests were here of use. His contribution to the subject is likewise most illuminating in connection with the German invasion in force of Luxembourg and the French ore fields two days before the declaration of war.

The Luxembourger Loch

Mr. Van Dyke had been lunching at the home of Mr. Eyschen, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, and the German and French ministers to that Grand Duchy were also present as guests. Our minister reports: "Mr. Eyschen said to me: 'You have heard of the famous *Luxembourger Loch?* It is the easiest military road between Germany and France.' Then he continued with good humor to the two gentlemen at the ends of the table: 'Perhaps one of your two countries may march an army through it before long.'" (17.)

Mr. Van Dyke goes on to say:

"A couple of days after the luncheon, at the beginning of June, I saw a curious confirmation of Eyschen's hint. Having gone just over the German border for a bit of angling, I was following a very lovely little river full of trout and grayling. With me were two or three Luxembourgers and as many Germans, to whom fishing with the fly—fine and far off—was a curious sight. Along the east bank of the stream ran one of the strategic railways of Germany, from Köln to Trier. All day long innumerable trains rolled southward along that line and every train was

German troops massed on western frontier in June, 1914

packed with soldiers in field gray—their cheerful stolid bullet-heads stuck out of all the windows. 'Why so many soldiers,' I asked, 'and where are they all going?' 'Ach!' replied my German companions, 'it is *Pfingstferien*' [Pentecost vacation], and they are sent a changing of scene and air to get.' My Luxembourg friends laughed. 'Yes, yes,' they said. 'That is it; Trier has a splendid climate for soldiers. The situation is *Kolossal* for that.' When we passed through the hot and dusty little city it was simply swarming with the field-gray ones—thousands upon thousands of them—new barracks everywhere; parks of artillery; mountains of munitions and military stores. It was a veritable base of operations, ready for war.

"Now the point is," continues our minister, "that Trier is just seven miles from Wasserbillig on the Luxembourg frontier, the place where the armed German forces entered the neutral land, August 2, 1914." (17.)

It seems unnecessary to add anything to this little vignette of Dr. Van Dyke, further than to draw attention to the significant fact that the German troops were wearing the new war uniforms of field-gray about two months before the actual outbreak of the war. These uniforms had not at that time been issued to the army officially, but in order to cross the boundary at the time they did there would be no easy opportunity to make the change.

Archduke Francis Ferdinand opposed to the conspiracy

There is evidence that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne in succession to the old and decrepit Kaiser Francis Joseph, was opposed to Germany's plan of conquest. Some of this evidence has been recently brought together by M. Gabriel Hanotaux, the distinguished French historian (18). He cites Baron Jehan de Witte: "Francis Ferdinand, the heir

presumptive to the throne, has given proof in many circumstances that when the day comes he will be equal to his task. It is for this reason, without doubt, that the Prussophiles, after having pretended for a long time to ignore him, to-day show him a ferocious hate."

The Pan-German plot, in addition to the conquest of Europe, aimed at the complete subordination and domestication of Austria, for which purpose the secret compact with Ferdinand of Bulgaria had been made, and the Archduke appears to have comprehended and resisted.

On June 12th, a fortnight before the murder of the Archduke, the German Kaiser accompanied by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, paid a visit to him in his castle at Konopisht in Bohemia. Nothing but rumor is available concerning what passed between them at the meeting, but the Kaiser's remark when the news of the assassination reached him is most significant. So is likewise the fact that the always efficient police force of Sarajevo was instructed by the military authorities not to make any special arrangements for the Archduke's protection, and the military made none themselves (19). The Archduke rode from the railroad station to the city hall without an escort, and though a bomb was then thrown at him without success and he made protest, he was allowed to drive away from the hall without an escort, and with his wife he was then killed by revolver shots of the assassin Princip (19).

The military authorities were never punished for their neglect, and the assassin who threw the bomb had the preceding winter at Belgrade been protected from the Serbian police authorities by the Austrian

officials, who, contrary to the Serbian view, said they did not regard the man as dangerous. The fact that the power in the Austrian Foreign Office was the unscrupulous Count Forgach, guilty of forgery in the Friedjung case, has lent to the whole affair a most sinister aspect.

The news of the double murder of the Archduke and his morganatic wife reached the German Emperor at Kiel on board his yacht *Meteor* where were many guests with him including Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador to Great Britain. Says Lichnowsky in his memoirs:

Murder of the Archduke plotted

"His Majesty expressed regret that his efforts to win the Archduke over to his idea had thus been rendered vain. Whether the plan of pursuing an active policy against Serbia had been determined upon at Konopisht, I cannot know.

"As I was uninformed about views and events at Vienna, I attached no far-reaching importance to this event. Not until later was I able to establish the fact that among the Austrian aristocrats a feeling of relief outweighed all other sentiments. One of His Majesty's other guests on board the *Meteor* was the Austrian Count Felix Thun. Although the weather was splendid, he lay all the time in his cabin suffering from seasickness. When the news arrived, he was well. He had been cured either by the shock or the joy." (20, p. 58.)

There appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* an extract from *Souvenirs* of Edgar von Schmidt-Pauli, who reports: "The young prince Louis Windischgrätz learning in his castle at Sáros-Patak the news of the death of the Archduke, cried out, according to witnesses, 'It is war!' The Prince knew what was going on and this

exclamation was in some way the confession of the plot" (21).

The charge that the murder of the Archduke was actually plotted by the German Kaiser because Francis Ferdinand would not consent to Austria's joining in the war has been made public by Dr. Vasile Lucăciu, head of the Roumanian Mission to the United States. His statement is that the Archduke was cunningly put out of the way by assassins hired by the Kaiser and Count Tisza, then the premier of Austria-Hungary.

The Kaiser an assassin

The evidence is not yet sufficient to convict, but the motive has been proven, and the character of the accused has been shown to be capable of the murder. No one who has carefully traversed the evidence given above, in which the German Government is shown to have been committed to the assault, will retain any scruples against charging the German Kaiser and his accomplices with this lesser crime, since he is already convicted of the greater.

At a war council held at Potsdam on July 5, 1914, with the Kaiser presiding and with the principal cabinet officials of both empires and the ambassadors, captains of industry, bankers, etc., present, the date of entering upon the war was definitely fixed. The Kaiser personally asked each one present whether he was ready for the war. All answered "yes" except the financiers, who said they needed about two weeks more in order to sell foreign securities and float loans. Count von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador at Constantinople, reported upon this council to the American Ambassador who was his colleague at Constantinople (22, p. 170; 23). This leaky diplomat is the same who

"The Day" definitely fixed upon at Potsdam on July 5, 1914

told Marquis Garroni of the German plot as early as 1912, and he has now been reported to have mysteriously died. Mr. Morgenthau, our Ambassador, states further that all the world's stock exchanges indicate clearly that the German bankers used the fortnight interval between the date of this council meeting and the launching of the war to dispose of their foreign stocks, and that prices declined rapidly. The markets were at the time greatly puzzled by this circumstance and assigned it doubtfully to various causes. Within this interval securities of international market fell on the New York Exchange as follows: Union Pacific, 155½–122½; Baltimore and Ohio, 91½–81; United States Steel, 61–50½; Canadian Pacific, 194–185½; Northern Pacific, 111⅜–108.

According to the report of a speech by Hugo Hasse, made in the German Reichstag and printed in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of July 20, 1917, there were discussed and decided upon at this Potsdam Council of July 5th, all the important points in the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia promulgated something like a fortnight later, and it was definitely decided also to assume the risk of a war with Russia (24).

Prince Lichnowsky in referring to this council says in his memoirs:

Prince Lichnowsky's account

"I learned at the decisive conversation at Potsdam on July 5th the inquiry addressed to us by Vienna found absolute assent among all the personages in authority; indeed, they added that there would be no harm if a war with Russia were the result, so, at any rate, it is stated in the Austrian protocol which Count Mensdorff, Austrian Ambassador, received in London. Soon afterward Herr von Jagow was in Vienna to discuss

everything with Count Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister" (20, p. 61).

Herr von Jagow in his reply denies that he was in Vienna, but does not controvert Lichnowsky's other statements. When the Prince left London on the declaration of war, he was treated like a departing sovereign and the Austrian Ambassador appeared at the railway station with his staff. The Prince says: "To the English he [Mensdorff] said that it was not Austria, but we, who had wanted the war" (20, p. 76).

When the Prince reached Berlin he was made the scapegoat. He says: "It was made out that the whole business was a British trick which I had not understood. In the Foreign Office, I was told that in 1916 it would in any case have come to war. But then Russia would have been 'ready' and so it was better now." (20, p. 71.)

The German Imperial Ambassador to the United States, returning from Germany after the Potsdam Conference, gave an interview to Edward Marshall which was published in the New York *Times* of August 30, 1914. With tears in his voice the Count said:

"As I left my native country the only instruction which was given to me was to tell the people of America the truth and nothing but the truth, and to hold nothing in reserve. These things I shall attempt to do. My frankness is that of a nation which has nothing to conceal, nothing to excuse."

Germany has claimed that she did not mobilize her army until five o'clock on the afternoon of August 1, 1914 (12, p. 413). What are the facts? It is first of all well to keep in mind that mobilization in France

or Germany has normally required six to seven days to complete, whereas in Russia the interval is fourteen to eighteen days, or more than twice as long a time. Inasmuch as the effect of the onset may be decisive, it is obvious that this question of the date of mobilization is of the utmost importance.

Did Germany lie about mobilization?

The very efficient intelligence department of the French War Office has collected an immense amount of material bearing upon this subject, material which has been published in a work entitled *The Lie of the Third of August, 1914* (25). The lie referred to is the quite obvious one of Baron von Schoen who on the date named prefaced his formal presentation of Germany's declaration of war upon France by a list of fifteen alleged violations of neutrality by France. In large part based upon the material of this French work, a somewhat full discussion of the German mobilization is available in English (26).

The "Exceptional Grand Maneuvers" of Germany to mobilize five hundred thousand men, was announced in May, 1914, to take place in August upon the French frontier; and it has already been described on the evidence of United States Minister van Dyke how troops in field-gray were seen massed on the German frontier of Luxembourg in early June. They were then provided with barracks, and a first-class military base had already been established at Trier, a point only seven miles from the entrance to the *Luxembourger Loch*, the great military route into France. In the spring of 1914 vast supplies of corn, beds, and hospital stores were collected, and an embargo was laid upon automobile tires throughout Germany.

The "Exceptional Grand Maneuvers" of 1914

The French Ambassador in Berlin, M. Jules Cambon, reported to his government that secret mobilization took place in Germany on July 21st. On the 24th the colonels of regiments at the great military base of Metz upon the French frontier gave their officers the secret instructions, divulged only on the eve of war, as to the special duties of "covering troops." Upon the same day machine guns were mounted upon the railway station at Düsseldorf. On the following day, July 25th, the military took over the railway stations throughout Germany, and between the 25th and 27th cavalry, artillery, and infantry moved by train to the Belgian frontier. On this date the French Minister of Foreign Affairs telegraphed the French Ambassador in London:

Secret mobilization occurred July 21st

"The whole 16th corps from Metz, reinforced by a part of the 8th from Treves and Cologne, is occupying the frontier at Metz on the Luxembourg side. The 15th army corps from Strasbourg has closed up on the frontier. Reservists have been called back by tens of thousands. This is the last stage before mobilization whereas we have not called back a single reservist." (12, p. 82.)

On the 27th of July barbed wire was laid on the frontier, and five classes of reservists numbering in the aggregate 1,250,000 men were called up. Since the peace strength of the German army was between 800,000 and 900,000 men, this indicated that about 2,000,000 men were already mobilized upon this date, a date on which Germany was assuring the British Government of her readiness to mediate (12, p. 192).

2,000,000 men already mobilized on July 27th

Throughout the 28th and 29th of July German

troops in field-gray were passing through Frankfurt, and on the 29th thirty military trains passed between Metz and Treves. Upon this day, also the *Ersatz* received preliminary mobilization notices, thus making 3,500,000 men who were then either wholly or partially mobilized. Reservists were constantly arriving from adjoining countries, and at Port Said a North German Lloyd steamer due to sail for Marseilles waited under orders to "embark reservists."

Potsdam war council on the 29th threatened mobilization

It was on the 29th of July that the war council met at Potsdam and Count Pourtales, the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was instructed to inform the Russian Government of "the decision of his government to mobilize if Russia did not stop her military preparations," preparations which appear to have been limited to the Austrian frontier.

"Premature" announcement of mobilization on July 30th

On the 30th of July at one o'clock in the afternoon, the *Lokal Anzeiger*, *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, *Deutsche Zeitung*, *Deutsche Nachrichten*, and *Deutsche Warte*, all simultaneously published a special edition announcing that mobilization had been proclaimed. The edition was at once seized, and at 2 P.M., the German Foreign Office telephoned to the French and Russian embassies to say that the news was false. The Russian Ambassador was told that the paper had been printed in advance "to be ready for all eventualities," yet all gave out the same news at the same time and all were under rigid control of the Government. What really changed the Government's intention is not known with certainty, but it is significant that two hours before the "special" appeared, the Berlin correspondent of the *Wiener Zeitung* wired his paper that he had "received from

one of the Emperor's staff" the news that mobilization had been proclaimed.

On July 31st, the German Government announced something new, a "State of Danger of War" (*Kriegsgefahrzustand*) as it was reported to Paris, but, curiously enough, "State of War" as announced at Berlin (*Das Reichsgebiet . . . wird hierdurch in Kriegszustand erklärt*). Did some bright mind think out this new deception just as the special edition was being issued? It would be interesting to know.

Proclamation of "State of Danger of War" on July 31st

This stage of siege (*Burgfrieden*) had the effect to take away all civil rights of the German people, and though the Chancellor in proclaiming it gave formal assurance that the state of siege would not continue beyond the period of mobilization, it continued to 1917 at least (27, p. 54).

The *Kriegszustand* proclamation was issued between six and twelve hours before Germany could have known of the Russian mobilization. There is here an interesting instance of the manipulation of German documents in order to deceive the German people. In the English version of the German Government's case against Russia, which is issued by the German Foreign Office, it is stated that Russian mobilization was already ordered "during the afternoon of the 31st of July," a statement which is correct. The German edition, prepared for the use of its own people, states that this mobilization occurred earlier, namely, in the morning (*Vormittag*). At midnight of the 31st Germany's ultimatum was sent to Russia demanding of her that she demobilize at once and give notice in twelve hours under penalty of Germany mobilizing. On the following day, Germany

Germany lied to her own people

declared war on Russia without mentioning mobilization, which was perhaps wise under the circumstances, since she had already mobilized no less than 2,000,000 of men five days before, and an additional 1,500,000 three days before.

On the 2d of August, two days before war was declared, the German troops which had so long been massed at Trier (see ante p. 72) advanced through the neutral territory of Luxembourg and occupied the iron district there, and then crossing into France they advanced upon the French forces at Longwy and occupied the French iron district as well (12, p. 131). Thus, two days before the declaration of war Germany had the entire iron area of France and Luxembourg, as well as that of Lorraine, firmly in her grasp. France has accomplished the modern miracle of her defense against Germany under the handicap of the loss of most of her iron-producing district, and been forced to bring much of her iron from her colonies across the Mediterranean and from other sources.

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V

OUR DEBT TO FRANCE

(Delivered at Johnstown, Pa. on Bastille Day, July 14, 1918.)

"To thee, sweet France, we eager turn,
Land where the deeds of old still burn,
Land where the soul's supreme emotion
In glorious action is exprest,
Land where the patriot's deep devotion
Includes a love for all who yearn
To see their country's wrongs redrest,
To thee, sweet France, we turn!"

Ode to France, by RAYMOND WEEKS.

"France, fortunate among nations, has conserved the good and rejected the evil experienced in her national progress. The dark passions of the Revolution have utterly disappeared, giving place to the spirit of liberty, equality, fraternity, truly expressed in the national life and uniting France and the United States by unbreakable bonds." —GEORGE ELLERY HALE.

"The unspeakable sacrifices willingly borne by France with so much stoicism give her the right to speak with authority to the allied Powers, which she has saved from an irreparable disaster."— GUGLIELMO FERRERO.

"Let me go back to France!
I'll stifle in this ease,
This doing as I please—
Let me go to France!

"They call! They're calling me to come!
But I forget—you cannot hear
The voices ever in my ear!
'I am so tired of war,' you say?

Yes, yes—I, too; but so are they—
War-weary are they every one.
But tell them, tell them that I come!
You've not been there—how could you know
The memories that haunt me so!
If I could make you understand
You'd take me gently by the hand,
And point the way,
To-day!"

E. Louise Whiting.

IT is, I am sure, for all of us a proud moment when with England and her self-governing commonwealths, America celebrates for the first time in history upon the French national holiday the liberation of France from autocratic rule; a rule which has recoiled behind the defenses of the Kaiser's empire and his vassal states. It is an event which I hope will be perpetuated in a regularly recurring celebration; and it is, I trust, an augury of the coming alliance of democratic peoples against autocracy, whether seated upon a throne or lurking in disguise in a constitutional livery.

Bastille Day an American holiday

Great as have been its sacrifices, the world war has brought us its spiritual uplifts of the greatest significance and importance. Tried in the fire, the pure metal of our civilization has separated from the dross. More than of any other warring nation, however, the purged soul of France shines forth in splendor to a world that pays homage as never before in the history of mankind. It is the verdict of a contemporary writer that "no nation in all history, in any episode of its life, has received in so large a measure the love and admiration of mankind, as France has received since the war began. . . . No nation has ever borne itself with finer

The purged soul of France

dignity, greater simplicity, clearer loyalty, in the face of universal homage."

Barbarians repeatedly turned back on French soil

Throughout recorded European history it has been preëminently upon French soil that the tides of barbarian hordes, sweeping across Europe and threatening to blot out its civilization, have recoiled and rolled backward in defeat. In the second century of our era when the Teutons and Cimbri were carrying all before them, they were turned back at Aix, and thus were preserved for centuries the Greek and Roman civilizations; in the fifth century at Châlons upon the Marne, Attila, "The Scourge of God," with hordes of fierce Huns at his back, met defeat and disaster; only a half-century later the West-Gothic barbarians under Alaric were defeated at Poitiers; there and at Tours near by Charles Martel, in the eighth century, rolled back the Saracen hordes and thus saved Europe from Mohammedan domination. In 1792 the citizen armies of the newly organized French Republic faced the armies of Prussian autocracy and defeated them in the decisive battle of Valmy.

France the adamantine wall

And now in our own day, in battles incomparably greater than any which have preceded them, France, at first almost unaided, has been the savior of our civilization from the baseness and treachery of the modern Hun. In doing this she has fought our battles as well as her own. Well has the poet sung of her:

"Take courage, France!
'Tis not in vain
That ancient glories
Still remain!

Since times of old,
Thou art the adamantine wall
Where tides barbaric beat and fall;
And backward to their source are rolled.
If France another nation were
Prophetic bards would cry to her:
'Awaken from their sepulchre
Thy Roland and thine Oliver!'
But France's heroes are not dead.
Theirs is no asphodelian bed.
No couch of dreams with poppies spread
Enslaves their noble limbs!
Clad in the soldier's red and blue,
Marching they sing the hymn of hymns,
The splendid Marseillaise,
That binds their present courage to
A thousand yesterdays!"

"To-day the world has become convinced," says the greatest of Italian contemporary historians, "that if France had not resisted like an anvil the furious blows of the God Thor, mad with rage, Europe would not have escaped the German hegemony."

France the anvil of Thor

Is there one of us who can forget those ever-memorable days of early fall in the opening year of the war, when each succeeding day, borne down by a terrible and consuming anxiety, we scanned the headlines of our news columns only to find that an overwhelming superiority in men and guns had carried the Teuton hordes yet another stage forward in their apparently resistless advance upon Paris? And then—we were at first hardly able to comprehend it—when the tide had reached the ridge beyond the Marne, its advance lost headway, the

The invasion of France in 1914

French retreat came to a halt, and the indomitable Joffre issued the order to his armies to advance or die.

Manoury, commanding the sixth army upon the left flank, finds General Boëlle at Nanteuil pressed hard and in danger of being turned by von Kluck, and he sends him the order upon no account to move a step backwards, but upon the contrary to advance, and if necessary be slain where he stands. Boëlle has, however, not waited for special orders, but has advanced, certain of being cut to pieces, and found before him a faltering enemy with von Kluck already beginning his retreat.

The recoil of von Kluck

Upon such a far-flung battlefront a retreat before the left flank is not at once felt in the center, where the incomparable Foch, cool in every emergency, is in command. He is, in the opinion of Joffre, "the greatest strategist of Europe and the humblest," and an admiring world has confirmed this verdict upon the Marne, the Yser, and the Somme, in Picardy and in Champagne. Foch's line is driven in and the vitally important Fère-Champenoise is lost, but he is not discouraged. "It will be recaptured, the situation is excellent," he reports to Joffre. "I am ordering that the offensive be resumed." This report was as far as possible removed from bravado, for, Napoleon-like, Foch had discerned that the now dry marshes of St. Gond upon his front were but lightly held by the enemy, and rallying his men to deliver a smashing blow at the vulnerable point, he brings about a decision; and the Teuton supermen, defeated and still uncomprehending, fall back to the Aisne before a pursuing foe which they had been taught to despise.

Foch the incomparable

Civilization had again been saved by France!

"You who have faith to look with fearless eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And trust that out of night and death shall rise
The dawn of ampler life;

"Rejoice, whatever anguish rend your heart,
That God has given you for a priceless dower,
To live in these great times and have your part
In Freedom's crowning hour.

"That you may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens, their heritage to take—
'I saw the powers of darkness put to flight!
I saw the morning break.'"

Now that France had forced the Hun to recoil upon the Aisne, he strikes out fiercely on the Yser and again at Verdun, trusting to desperate assaults to strike down his foe before Britain, caught unprepared, can raise and train an army. In very truth France has been the anvil to receive the hammer blows of the infuriated Thor. The battle cry of the French at Verdun, *Ils ne passeront pas* (They shall not pass) has become the battle cry of freedom in this Armageddon of the world.

"They shall not pass"

Latest of all, from the very cradle of liberty in America has come an awakening from pacifist dreamings to accept the nation's responsibilities in this mighty struggle; and now in a belated and desperate rush we are somewhat clumsily striving to provide those sinews of war which should have been made ready as enjoined upon us by our first President, the great "Father of his Country." The debt we owe to France for shielding us from the enemy while we were hesitating and finding excuses, is one that we can never adequately repay—the oppor-

The tardy awakening of America

tunity has gone forever. Hundreds of thousands of her bravest and best have, without a murmur, laid down their lives to preserve our liberties; and let no one be deceived into the belief that although our soldiers are fighting with a gallantry beyond all praise, we are even to-day playing more than a minor rôle in the great battles upon French soil. The casualty lists give the lie to the popular misconception. When from a total of some ten thousand these have mounted into the tens of thousands a week, as they do for Great Britain, then may we believe that we are at last playing our part in the war. The country is, I am firmly convinced, big enough to welcome the facts, and it will rise to its responsibilities the better for knowing them.

"Paid in full in the blood of your sons"

Though our debt to France for the victory of the Marne above all, and our indebtedness to England and Italy and to Belgium and Serbia can never be epaid, we have it in our power to help mightily in ways not yet appreciated. The allied nations of Europe are to-day straining almost to breaking beneath their financial burdens, and I cannot forbear to echo the suggestion already put forward with an accolade of applause that we at once proceed to write across the face of our loans to these allies: "Paid in full in the blood of your sons."

The old debt to France

If the awful present now somewhat dims the past in our vision, at least it can be said of us that we have not been unmindful of the debt we have long owed to France for her part in achieving our independence when the same bitter struggle against autocracy was going on in England with a German king upon the throne. We have, however, sometimes

forgotten that Burke, Pitt, and Fox warmly advocated the cause of the American Colonies in the British Parliament, that many officers in the British army, supported by a popular approval, flatly refused to serve against the colonists, and that volunteers for the ranks were so hard to secure that King George hired from German princelings the thousands of soldiers which under the name of Hessians were sent against the colonists in America.

In this extremity we appealed to France, and she sent fleets and men with her splendid leaders, Marshal Rochambeau and Marquis de Lafayette. But for the French fleet in Chesapeake Bay and Rochambeau at Yorktown the result of our struggle might have been different. Writing to Rochambeau General Washington declared: "To the generous aid of your nation and to the bravery of its sons is to be ascribed, in a very great degree, that independence for which we have fought." Our gratitude as a people found expression in 1784 when Marquis de Lafayette returned to the United States as the guest of the nation.

Washington's acknowledgment

To-day—July the 14th—the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, with its long record of tyranny and oppression the very symbol of autocratic rule in France, we now pay homage to our sister nation, who is again shielding us from the forces of reaction let loose upon the world. England no longer ruled by George III., with full civil liberties now guaranteed to her people by the Reform bills, and drawn closer to France through the common peril and the alliance of her armies, she now joins with us in the celebration both of the 4th and of the 14th of July.

France, Britain, and America in fraternal alliance

It is certainly a remarkable coincidence that so many liberty anniversaries should recur in the month of July. Besides our own Independence Day upon the "glorious 4th" and Bastille Day upon the 14th of the month, our democratic self-governing neighbor to the north of us celebrates upon the 2d of July, Dominion Day, the anniversary of the founding of her union. Even in England the anniversary of Runnymede and Magna Charta is separated by little more than a fortnight, and Garibaldi, the popular liberator of Italy, was born upon the 4th of July.

The July liberty anniversaries

It is a happy augury, also, of the permanence of the present alliance against personal as opposed to democratic government, that our flags are all composed of the same three colors. The tricolor of France, the British standard and its modifications in each of the British self-governing commonwealths, like our own star-spangled banner have only the three colors—the red, white, and blue. The black "Jolly Roger" of pirate crews appears in the flag of Prussia, the "black-white," and in that of Germany, the "black-white-red."

The red, white, and blue of democracy

Do I hear some soft-hearted but weak-minded citizen saying, that when peace has been signed all is at once to be forgotten and forgiven, that the millennium will have arrived with human nature transformed and selfishness and greed eliminated, and that we may then beat our swords into plowshares? Are we to take the modern Hun at once to our bosoms and in a spirit of amity and good will entwine the "black-white-red" with the "red, white, and blue"? The pacifists to whom we chiefly owe our present troubles have been heard urging this,

Internationalism the latest disguise of pacifism

and with mock meekness are calling themselves "internationalists," now that the word pacifist has become unpopular. In this bleating of the lamb our ear detects a certain raucousness, and beneath the woolly exterior we fancy we can make out the familiar figure of the Beast of Berlin, his bulging proportions somewhat flattened, it is true, but still recognizable under the sheep's clothing.

Are we to replace the Stars and Stripes over our schools and in the windows of our homes by an international flag in which the red, white, and blue of democracy have been combined with the Prussian black, with a broad yellow streak through the center? No! a thousand times NO!

Internationalism is pacifism under a fresh disguise, and it is to-day the greatest menace before this nation and the world. Henceforth the "blond beast" after his "lustful roving" must be quarantined for a safe period before being admitted to the society of the democratic and God-fearing nations.

The citizen's obligation to serve with the colors

So painfully have we learned our lesson, that no respect is accorded to nations nor to alliances which have not the power to defend their liberties, that henceforth we shall see to it that the rights of a citizen to a voice in the councils of his country shall be based upon a willingness to serve the nation with the colors under a democratic form of military training and service.

France has won the right to dominate at council

By a strange perversity of fate the neglect of our responsibilities until the eleventh hour of the struggle, has through the lesser drain upon our military resources left us with a reserve of power and a corresponding possibility of wielding it which is not possessed by those nations that have borne the burden and heat of the day. To our

shame be it said that there are some among us who boastfully proclaim that we shall insist upon the use of this club or obtain a dominating position in the coming peace councils. Guglielmo Ferrero, the great Italian historian, has said with much force and with entire justice: "The unspeakable sacrifices willingly borne by France with so much stoicism give her the right to speak with authority to the allied Powers which she has saved from an irreparable disaster."

With humility for our past and with resolution for the future, we are big enough to accord to France this right and to vow that whatever other adjustment may be fixed upon at the conclusion of peace, Alsace-Lorraine, "more French even than France herself," shall be restored.

Alsace-Lorraine must be restored

To the field of iron ore in Lorraine ruthlessly taken from France in 1871 and married to her own coal deposits, Germany owes her phenomenal advance in the last generation and the industrial domination of Europe during the last decade before the war. In restoring to France that which rightfully belongs to her, we shall draw the fangs of the German monster and protect the world in future from his venom. In addition, in order to insure the proper development of this ore by France, she must be given in reparation for the ruthless and wanton—aye, bestial—destruction of the occupied portion of her territory, a part of those enormous reserves of coal which in Germany's hands have compelled the unwilling neutrality of her neighbors under a threat to withhold their necessary supply. Such a disposition as has been indicated is as necessary to the rehabilitation of glorious France as it is to secure the peace and prosperity of the world.

And in that rehabilitation of the devastated portion

of France it is particularly the duty of us in the United States in some small measure to repay our debt to France. The larger bill must eventually be paid by Germany, whose thefts must first of all be restored and also whose man-power must be harnessed to the task of a rapid building up of the ravished territory. The great garrisons which must long be maintained in Germany, and the armies of the victors upon her western frontier, it is our special duty to supply, while those who fought as we stood aloof return to rebuild their broken homes and reëstablish their arrested industries. The army maintained as a safeguard against Germany on the borders of France can be actively employed in this work of restoration.

An American poet, Professor Raymond Weeks, of Columbia University, has, in the concluding verses of his splendid *Ode to France*, voiced what should be our tribute to-day:

Our tribute to France

"And now when foes beset thee,
Shall we, thy sons, forget thee!
Lo! we who swore thee
Our love, adore thee!
Our hosts surround thee,
Our swords inbound thee.
We serried march before thy bleeding feet,
And with unflinching hearts thy foes shall meet.
Yea, we shall die! but thou shalt ever live,
Remembering us thy children, who could give
To Liberty and thee
All that the soul may have or hope to be
This side of silence and the silken veil.
In ecstasy we cry,
Even as those who die:
'Hail, thou sweet France, our mother!
Hail! all hail!'"

VI

THE MILITARY MASTERS OF GERMANY

"The rise of Prussia and the unification of Germany were the work of the Princes. They gave to the one a sham constitution, and bestowed upon the Empire an organic law which was careful to prescribe the model for military uniforms, but overlooked fundamental rights of person and of property and provided an appointive federal council which under the scheme arranged can nullify every act of the representatives of the people. The Germanic birthright of independence and individual initiative was surrendered. The rights of man have vanished before the divine right of the state, and the divine right of the state is personified in the King and Emperor."—GUSTAVUS OHLINGER.

"The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf."—Flag Day Address of PRESIDENT WILSON.

German "democracy" is camouflage

THERE has long been a popular misconception particularly prevalent in America that Germany has a democratic government. Germany is or has been, classified as a constitutional monarchy such as is Great Britain. There is a most popular little German text entitled *Im Vaterland*, which was "made in Germany," literally as well as figuratively; and until recently this text had been widely used in the schools and colleges of the United States (1). In this text, which has largely contributed to the prevalent misconception, there occurs a dialogue between a boy and his uncle, in which the conclusion is reached that the governments of

Germany and the United States are practically the same. German propagandists have told us that Germany's government is "the most democratic in the world," and Dr. Kuno Francke of Harvard University, one of the most dangerous, because most astute, of German propagandists, has in a recent issue of *Harper's Magazine* characterized the German system as "that wonderful union of monarchical leadership and socialized popular activity which has proved the salvation of the country in these years of unparalleled trials." This autocracy he has described in the same article as "a deceptive misnomer for what is in reality a rule of experts *supervised by popular assemblies*" (2).

To make use of a term which the war has given us, the democratic aspect of the German Government is entirely camouflage, that is to say, fake. This aspect was given it by Bismarck in order to make the people contented while being allowed to play at government, and this more especially in the states of the then late South German Confederation which were in process of being Prussianized.

It was Bismarck who said: "I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy." In actual fact, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, it may be doubted if there was then, as there certainly is not now, a nation having so absolute a government as Germany. Having a high average of education it has seldom been necessary to display the iron hand of government before the German people, as has been the case in Russia and Turkey; but in the last resort the government's power would be exercised quite as firmly and relentlessly. Germany could, however, never have been accorded

German Government the most absolute in Europe

820671 A

her high place among the nations of the world if this deceit had not been perpetrated.

The most conclusive proof of the truth of what has been said is to be found in the following facts: (1) That the elective house of the German Parliament, the *Reichstag*, has never yet succeeded in bringing about any reform which the German ruling class had determined to prevent; (2) that any citizen who has allied himself with the liberal party has thereby been cut off from social position and from obtaining a career; and (3) rewards such as decorations, titles, etc., which alone give standing in German communities, are denied to all save the loyal supporters of the government's policies.

The German constitution was written under the direction of Prince Bismarck, and was given to the German people as a favor rather than as a right. The people were never asked nor permitted to ratify it, and it may for this reason be withdrawn at the will of the sovereign.

The German electoral system

The parliament consists of two houses, the *Bundesrat*, or Federal Council, and the *Reichstag*, or Imperial Diet; the former a house of princes and nobles appointive under the sovereigns of the twenty-five federated states of the empire, the latter elective from voting districts unchanged since before the transformation of Germany from an agricultural to an industrial state; in other words, since the founding of the empire in 1871.

As a consequence, the thinly inhabited rural districts with their peasants under the arbitrary control of the landed proprietors, who in Prussia are called Junkers, have generally overwhelmed the vastly more numerous and relatively progressive voters of the cities and towns. Notwithstanding this handicap the Social-Democrats

have in recent years formed a large majority in the *Reichstag*. Electoral reforms which have long been called for, and which in a hazy way have now been promised for some indefinite future time, would never avail to give the reins of government into the hands of the people, as was in fact brazenly declared by the Chancellor even when promising the reforms.

The root of the matter lies far deeper and is to be found in the plan of the constitution itself (3, vol. ii., p. 355). We read much in the newspapers concerning the *Reichstag* and next to nothing of the *Bundesrat*. The former has been aptly characterized as a "debating society" and as a "hall of echoes," and the government has humored it by giving over large space in the state-controlled press to reports of its deliberations.

Legislative power resides in house of princes

The real business of the government is carried on *in secret* in the *Bundesrat*, which has sixty-one members divided most unequally between the twenty-five states of the empire. Prussia with the "Crown Land" of Alsace-Lorraine has twenty votes, Bavaria six, Saxony and Würtemberg, four each; and the remaining states either three, two, or one, but generally one each. It should be noted, however, that the delegates from each state vote, not as individuals, but *en bloc* as directed by their sovereigns; twenty of them as the Kaiser orders. And under Article 78 of the Constitution only fourteen votes are necessary for a veto to any legislation.

The *Reichstag* consists of 395 members elected for terms of five years by the voters of the empire, who are men of twenty-five years or over, the majority of whom have therefore been two or three years under the brutalizing discipline of the

The "Hall of Echoes"

Prussian drillmaster. There is, however, one apparent real power which is vested in the *Reichstag*—in conjunction with the *Bundesrat* it votes new appropriations on the proposition of the Chancellor, since though it has nominally the power to initiate legislation through petition of the *Bundesrat* its petitions have generally been ignored.

Says Abbé Wetterlé, long a member of the *Reichstag:*

"All the work of the Reichstag is done behind the scenes. Our party leaders are augurs who have learnt to look at each other in public assembly without laughing; but, surrounded by the mystery of their private confabs, they are hand and glove together. . . .

"The three readings of an important Bill always gave us the same chromatic scale. First reading: furious declarations and the solemn announcement of an opposition that nothing would shatter; second reading: a scattered retreat on a barely modified text, but with a few noisy counter-attacks. Third reading: a perfect understanding, general embracings, reciprocal congratulations, and unanimous applause." (4, pp. 84, 86.)

All old appropriations continue indefinitely without the consent of the *Reichstag* being required. Now it is conceivable that the *Reichstag* might successfully oppose the government, but in practice it has been found impossible to do so. When in the past the *Reichstag* has refused to vote the government's appropriation bills, the Kaiser has promptly prorogued the body, thus bringing on new elections, and by methods which will be better understood after the next chapter, it has been able to impose its will. No one familiar with German methods can doubt for a moment that if these partly open, partly subterranean methods of electing a new

Reichstag favorable to the government should be unsuccessful, the precedent set by Bismarck in governing Prussia for four years without a parliament would be followed in Prussianized Germany.

The kingdom of Prussia comprises no less than two thirds of the territory and almost two thirds of the population of Germany. For this reason the Prussian legislature, on which the German legislative system is modeled, is quite as important to consider as the Imperial Parliament itself.

The Prussian Landtag

The Prussian *Landtag* consists of the *Herrenhaus* or House of Lords and the *Abgeordnetenhaus* or Prussian Diet. The *Herrenhaus* has its composition determined by royal ordinance, and, through the King's (Kaiser's) power to create peers, can be given any complexion desired. As a matter of fact, it is largely composed of the lords of the landed estates, the Prussian Junkers, who are the pillars of autocracy of the nation and who form a nucleus of the officers in the German army.

The lower house of the *Landtag* is elective but wholly undemocratic, for the reason that the electoral franchise is distributed according to wealth; a rich man having the equivalent, sometimes of one hundred, sometimes of one thousand, workingmen's votes. In the Prussian *Landtag* elections of 1900 the Social-Democrats cast a majority of all the votes and were able to elect seven delegates out of nearly four hundred (5, p. 10).

Most outrageous of all, voting in Prussia is not secret —it is not even by ballot—but *oral*. A high order of courage is required for a peasant in the presence of his employer, or even of the omnipresent official and reporter, to vote contrary to the will of the government,

particularly since it may well mean eviction from his home (6, p. 12).

The same inequalities of representation, owing to the retention of a set of voting districts little modified since 1858, characterize the Prussian *Landtag* and the Imperial Parliament alike. In the year 1903 conservative votes to the number of 324,157 elected 143 representatives, whereas a nearly equal number of Social-Democratic votes, 314,149, did not elect a single member of the house (5, p. 12).

An additional cause for the dominance of the lower house of the Prussian *Landtag* over the German *Reichstag* is found in the small attendance at the sessions of the *Reichstag* of members from other states than Prussia. To recruit their membership, political parties have offered seats in the *Reichstag* to members of the state legislatures, but the power exercised in the federal legislature is so much less than it is in the parliaments of the individual states, that these members have seldom attended the sessions in Berlin. When an important vote is to be taken in the *Reichstag*, the Prussian members are called by telephone, since the *Abgeordnetenhaus* sits at Berlin.

After an indemnity had been provided for the members of the *Reichstag* during the Chancellorship of von Bülow, one thousand marks, or one third of the entire allowance, was made for the period after Easter, when the members' chief anxiety has been to return home as quickly as possible. Accordingly he has, as a rule, been ready to pass the government's legislation as expeditiously as possible. Says Abbé Wetterlé:

"The pass on the railways in the Empire also served as a bribe. When the end of the session drew near, the Chan-

cellor informed the members—in this case without any beating about the bush—that if, before leaving, they voted such and such a Bill to which the government attached special importance, the *Reichstag* would not be closed but merely adjourned, which meant that during the holidays the members could continue to travel at the expense of the public. Rarely did the majority resist this tempting prospect; and it was thus that the Imperial Parliament was adjourned three years in succession, which constituted a record." (4, p. 42.)

Even the *Bundesrat*, in which the powers of government might appear to reside, wields a theoretical rather than an actual power—it is in reality a council of diplomats and nothing more. The Kaiser is its president, and in regard to it entirely independent. His powers are "divine" and hereditary, and he is responsible to no earthly authority. By Article 2 of the Imperial Constitution the Kaiser represents the Empire internationally, he has the right to declare war and conclude peace, to enter into alliances and treaties, to accredit and appoint envoys. Though declaration of war by the Emperor requires the consent of the *Bundesrat*, Article 68 of the Imperial Constitution, and the Prussian law of June 4, 1851, as well, give the Kaiser and King the right without the consent of the *Bundesrat* to declare a "defensive" war whenever the nation is threatened in any quarter (7, p. 52). Since officially all Prussia's and Germany's wars have been "defensive," the power to declare war resides in the Kaiser.

The absolute power of the Kaiser

The present war the Kaiser declared against Russia on August 1, 1914, and it was on August 4th he first called the *Bundesrat* together for formal confirmation. Article 68 of the Constitution of the Empire also gives

the Kaiser the power whenever he deems it necessary, to declare a state of siege, *Burgfrieden*, which extinguishes all civil rights. As already stated, such a state of siege was declared on July 30, 1914, with the promise that it was to continue only during mobilization, but like most Teuton promises it has not been kept and has been in force throughout the war.

No responsible ministry in Germany

The Imperial Chancellor is the Kaiser's assistant and representative, being appointed by him and holding office even in defiance of the people so long as the Emperor wills. The other ministers (War, Marine, Finance, etc.) are merely department administrative heads without voice in the government. In reality the Imperial Chancellor is not the German but the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs (7, p. 57). Bethmann-Hollweg, lately the Imperial Chancellor, rudely told the people's representatives in the *Reichstag*, "I do not serve Parliament." When, following upon the notorious Zabern scandal in the army, the *Reichstag* censured the Government by the overwhelming vote of 293 to 54, the Government responded by ignoring the matter and promoting the army officers who had outraged the people. When the Chancellor was asked by the Social-Democrats in the *Reichstag* why he did not resign after a vote of censure, as they do in France, he replied contemptuously that even little children knew the difference between France and Germany (5, p. 6).

According to Hermann Fernau, the first nineteen articles of the German Imperial Constitution might be replaced by the single sentence: "The German Emperor is the God-appointed absolute lord of Germany," and the practical result would be the same (7, p. 58). From Article 20 on there appear to be

limitations set by the *Reichstag*—"the democratic honey with which the democratic South German states were caught for the German idea of unity under Prussian hegemony"—but supplementary legislation under the skillful guidance of Bismarck soon removed what little democracy there had seemed to be in these articles.

Since the beginning of the world war, some minor concessions by the government, generally more apparent than real, have been promised. Says Fernau, "The German Government needs the *Reichstag* as an advertisement and emblem of its modernity. For the purpose of ruling, it has as little need of it as a tradesman has of the opinion of his employees as to the working of his business" (7, p. 55).

The gulf between Kaiser and Reichstag

With a gift for portraying events which gives to his narratives an unusual vividness and charm, Abbé Wetterlé, who was for sixteen years a deputy from Alsace, has supplied us with a description of the opening of the *Reichstag* by the Kaiser, a ceremony which reveals the gap separating the popular house in the German Imperial legislature from its supreme master (4, p. 32). He says:

"I was present at the opening sitting of the *Reichstag*. The ceremony took place in the White Room at the Imperial Palace. We were shown up to it by a back staircase. All those of my colleagues who were officers of the reserve had put on their uniforms. The throne, a very modest one, was situated opposite us, raised a couple of steps from the ground between two windows. It was surmounted by a canopy. On the left stood the members of the Federal Council, in gold embroidered coats, covered with decorations. On the right were the generals in full-dress uniform. Along the wall the Palace Guard, in uniforms dating back to the days of Frederick presented arms, whilst the officers, with

little three-cornered hats on their heads, held beribboned shepherd's crooks.

"I have described elsewhere the grotesque procession which precedes the Emperor on the occasion of these official ceremonies—a procession with heralds-at-arms wearing embroidered dalmaticas, a swarm of pages in knee breeches and pink doublets, and generals carrying on cushions the insignia of imperial dignity.

"The Emperor, who wore a scarlet cloak over his white cuirassier's uniform, saluted ceremoniously as he passed by. He was followed by the princes of his family. The Crown Prince took his place on the first step of the throne to the right of his father. Then William II. after putting on his helmet, which up to then he had carried under his arm, took the Crown speech from the Chancellor's hands and began to read it with a nasal twang. He laid stress on the principal phrases by roaring a little louder and casting an authoritative glance at the assembly. Whereupon the members of the *Reichstag* showed their appreciation by loud cries in chorus of '*sehr richtig! sehr richtig!*' (hear! hear!).

"When the reading of the speech was over, the Chancellor declared the session of the *Reichstag* open, and whilst the audience vociferated the 'hoch! hoch! hoch!' required by Court etiquette, the Imperial procession formed anew and disappeared. The ceremony was as paltry as it was amusing. The members had the look of little boys on whom a severe schoolmaster had imposed an imposition and had no right to resist. In fact, the *Reichstag* cannot send the Emperor an address in reply to the speech from the Throne" (4, p. 32).

Rôle of the Bureaucracy in the government

The government posts in Germany are almost numberless, for the reason that most of the great utilities, including railroads and telegraphs, are state-owned. For all the higher and more responsible positions, only the nobility with their traditions of autocratic rule are eli-

gible. The execution of government business is thus carried on by a great interlocking mechanism which extends into every part of the Empire, provided with checks and balances, elaborate records, and furnished with a system of spies so extensive that every citizen of the state can be placed under special surveillance if necessary. Tale-bearing, frowned upon by Anglo-Saxons everywhere, is in Germany exalted into a patriotic virtue which greatly aids autocracy in maintaining its strangle-hold upon the people's liberties.

The army the bulwark of the state

Of a nation whose chief industry is war, to quote Talleyrand on Prussia, it is after all the army upon which the Kaiser depends for support of his autocratic rule, as he has so often said in his public speeches. Referring to the reign of his grandfather, the Kaiser said: "The only pillar on which the realm rested was the army. So it is to-day!" An American soldier on being sworn into the service of his country makes oath to "defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." The German soldier swears "to render unconditional obedience to the orders of the Emperor." Lest there might still be misunderstanding, paragraph 108 of the Prussian Constitution expressly states: "A swearing in of the army upon the constitution of the country does not take place" (7, p. 79). There have been many propagandists in America, among them German professors who of course knew better, who have asserted that the German army is democratic. Says Fernau: "It is without parallel in the world's history that a dynasty contrived, not merely to retain in the modern world all its absolute feudal powers, but also to take advantage of modern progress to enhance them still further, without in

return giving the serving and paying portion of the nation a democratic government" (7, p. 91).

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VII

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN GERMANY

"It was on the seventh day of June, 1914, that Frankfurt assembled her school children in the opera house, to further their tastes and understanding of Germany's supreme national art. Exactly eleven months later, on May 7, 1915, a German torpedo sank the *Lusitania;* and the cities of the Rhine celebrated this also for their school children. . . .

"For forty years German school children and university students sat in the thickening fumes that exhaled from Berlin, spread everywhere by professors chosen at the fountain head. Any professor or editor who dared speak anything not dictated by Prussia, for German credulity to write down on its slate, was dealt with as a heretic.

"Out of the fumes emerged three colossal shapes—the superman, the super-race and the super-state: the new Trinity of German worship." —OWEN WISTER.

THE dominating position of the army over the civil administration of the state, is in Germany recognized by a system of caste which in all ceremonials gives to the lowest sub-lieutenant of the army precedence over even the most distinguished civilian representatives, including scientists, artists, and musicians with international reputations. Poultney Bigelow, the Kaiser's playfellow and for twenty-five years a favorite at court, tells us in his delightful *Prussian Memories:*

The military caste

"It was my fortune to have met Virchow under most favorable circumstances and to have exchanged views with him on matters of English and American political life, but I did not

know the degraded rank assigned to him by Prussian high society until we met at a great court function where thousands of military uniforms glittered and clattered in the light of as many chandeliers. Wandering through these great rooms in search of another world than that of barracks, I espied a short figure, topped by a noble dome and keen eyes peering from behind gold-rimmed spectacles. He had shrunk away into a window alcove where his academic robes suggested the shabby gown of a verger when contrasted with the gaudy dress of orthodox courtiers. And this was the head of Germany's greatest university, the man who could not have set his foot upon the soil of any civilized country without being hailed by grateful millions as the first of scientists and one of the world's benefactors. Here he was beaming with kindliness and emitting an aura of spiritual vitality incomparably superior to a wilderness of gold lace and Red Eagle decorations; yet not a courtier would have dared stop and speak to him for fear of social contamination." . . .

"The wife of Professor Helmholtz said to me in angry tones: 'For social purposes I would rather have the youngest Prussian lieutenant in the Berlin garrison as husband than my illustrious excellency of a scientist.'" (1, pp. 73, 75.)

The army officer in Germany is encouraged to assert a domineering attitude and to elbow off the sidewalk any who do not stand aside; such occurrences having been notably common in the case of foreigners who have been naturally unfamiliar with the reverence which in Germany obtains for the "Kaiser's Coat." The practice extends even to the private soldiers, who elbow women off the footpath if it is thought they are not ladies of rank, although out of uniform they would not dare to attempt such an indignity. An American woman who married a Prussian nobleman and who, without disclosing her identity, has favored us with an illuminating insight

The "Kaiser's Coat"

into Prussian conditions, tells us how she was annoyed by such insults from German soldiers (2). Her husband, properly incensed when told of it, said: "When you meet the fellows, stop short, point to the gutter and say '*Hinunter*' (get down there)." She followed his advice, and after one frightened look, the warriors were walking in the dirty rivulets of gutter water.

Among those savage tribes in which war is the chief industry, as it is in Germany, the woman occupies a menial position, and the same is characteristic of the Fatherland to-day. This is of course familiar from experience to any one who has ever traveled in Germany, and sometimes to those also who have not, but who have known German immigrants that have come to America. In connection with the International Geological Congress that was held in Toronto in 1913, there were extended transcontinental excursions undertaken at the conclusion of the congress, and many German delegates brought their wives with them. When asked how they had enjoyed the excursions, these gallant lords of creation modified their praise by the statement that their wives had somewhat objected to the upper berths in the sleeping cars.

Inferior position of women in Germany

What is almost a daily experience for one traveling in Germany is charmingly described by the German baroness who has already been cited, and she has in addition revealed to us the reason for the inferior position of woman in the all-dominating militarism in Germany:

Conservation of "Cannon fodder" in Germany

"As I was sailing down the Elbe one day, the clock in the church tower of a village which the boat was passing struck twelve. A young peasant couple laboring in a field looked up.

As the last stroke ceased, the man threw down his hoe and sauntered to a dog cart waiting in a field road close by. Seating himself in the cart, he drew a pipe from his pocket and began smoking. The woman picked up his hoe, placed it beside him in the cart; then advancing to the front of the vehicle, she harnessed herself in alongside of the dog, and bending under their joint load, she plodded homeward. To me such sights were common, but one of a group of American passengers exclaimed aloud, saying: 'Why, that big man is actually going to let himself be drawn by the little woman.' 'Madam,' said a lady-in-waiting of Princess Matilda, who had boarded the boat at Pillnitz, 'I think you must be American, to make such public offensive remarks. In America you may neglect your men, having plenty of them. But here in Germany it behooves women to take care of their men. Our men are precious. *They are soldiers!*" (2, p. 403).

Teuton versus Anglo-Saxon

Far back in the past and deep in the shades of the German forests, the Teuton and the Anglo-Saxon sprang from a common stock. Along the trail of the Anglo-Saxon we find such landmarks of liberty as Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Reform Bills, and the Declaration of Independence, and at the hither end peoples that would rather die than live in slavery.

The Teutons can show in their history only the so-called "War of Liberation" from subjection to Napoleon, to survive under the Williams, the Fredericks, and the Frederick Williams of the House of Hohenzollern; followed by the "flashes in the pan of 1832–1848," and by a race which to-day for its contentment, for its docile submission to tyranny, and for the pride in its submission, has not its like upon the face of the globe. How is this to be explained?

Is it not in part at least because the Saxon tribes

which under Arminius had conquered the Roman legions, were later so largely exterminated by the armies of Charlemagne; as well as because under him and his successors, oppression under petty princes replaced the government by public assemblies? Now schooled for centuries to abject submission to a government by "divine right," whatever sparks of individualism may still smoulder, are easily extinguished whenever they are fanned into flame by special acts of tyranny.

In order fully to comprehend the meekness and docility of the German people under the rule of their military masters, one must go back of the mere forms, or even of the practices, of the German Government regarded merely as a political structure; for the explanation is to be found rather in the social, religious, and educational system of Germany. Each of these forms of activity and development is a discipline under strict government control, a schooling which, surmounted by the military discipline that is so nearly universal, casts all in a common mold stamped by the government seal. Eventually individuality under the operation of the system is replaced by a servile obedience. Art, music, the drama, science, and literature, even the songs of the people; are all alike under government control and regulation. Thinking is, as it were, taken out of the people's control—it is a government monopoly.

The system of discipline

The principal idea factory of Germany is naturally located in Berlin, and the promulgation of ideas is carefully regulated both as to time and content. Should the matter be urgent, it can be managed only through the *Nachrichtendienst*, the Special News Service which supplies approved copy to the German newspapers, whose editors are encouraged

The idea factory

to rephrase, but are prevented from altering the meaning by a penalty of confiscation of property and the imposition of prison sentences. Where time serves the government ideas are further promulgated through the publication of numberless small brochures, paper-covered tracts in which the ideas are set forth by competent writers who are usually university-trained men. The same ideas are further attractively written up in the many periodicals, and in books of which the number is legion. Under various disguises, if the reason be sufficient, these ideas are introduced into books no matter of what subject they treat.

A propaganda edition of Beethoven's sonata

A rather remarkable instance of German war propaganda is afforded by the "Universal Edition" of Beethoven's sonata, which has been published at Leipsic, in the best style and issued at a surprisingly low price. The twenty-four pages of music are accompanied by a preface of seventy pages of closely printed text written by Heinrich Schlenker and devoted to the war. From this preface the following is taken:

"This study of the sonata Op. 111 was written during the first year of the world war. In the supreme distress of this war, so criminally imposed upon the German people, Beethoven, with a few other great names, appeared to us as a truly tutelary and consoling spirit; as the most precious talisman of a nation whom the adverse powers, themselves so belated, had dared to insult by calling it barbarian.

"In this world war Beethoven has taken part in many a battle: He has won victories. Harder battles are preparing and those also Beethoven will help us to win."

This introduction to Beethoven's sonata then goes on to assail each one of the allied nations in turn:

making out the French to be a people "devoid of all sincerity, of all intelligence, of all culture of life"; the English to be inhuman, lying, disgusting, "the great criminal among nations"; the Italian "a bandit and a braggart"; the Russian a beast; and the Americans a "rabble of shopkeepers without culture" to whom the Germans in torpedoing the *Lusitania* administered "a legitimate slap upon the cheek of the Yankee" (3). The climax seems now to have been reached in coupling the *Lusitania* outrage with Beethoven's immortal sonata.

This remarkable example of German propaganda, though published at Leipsic, is subsidized and recommended by the Imperial and Royal Department of Public Instruction of Austro-Hungary, which will add to the prestige lent the work by its pretentious dress and by the masterpiece of music to which it is attached.

The idea factory at Berlin early perceived the advantage of instilling into the minds of the German people, the notion that they are superior to other races and peoples; for which purpose their phenomenal industrial growth since 1870, the acknowledged efficiency of German administration, particularly municipal administration, the high development of musical art, and the fame of German schools and universities; lay ready at hand. Not content with the exploitation of these more or less legitimate claims to superiority along certain directions, other ideas nothing short of ridiculous were soon coupled with them. Such were, for example, the assumed superiority of mentality associated with the German type of head, the *dolychocephalic* cranium (with which go blue eyes and fair hair) to the *brachycephalic* skull

The cult of the superman

with its black hair and eyes common among the Latins. This cult gave a new interest to head measurements and became the business of a new branch of anthropology—anthropometry—in which Germans had no difficulty in maintaining the foremost position and in which real science was prostituted to *Kultur Politik*.

Did not the easy victories of 1870 prove beyond question this superiority claimed for Germany? Germans of high position in the universities readily took up this propaganda so flattering to their egotism; and Woltmann, Reimer, and the renegade Englishman, Houston Stuart Chamberlain, all descanted at length upon German superiority "on a scientific basis." School textbooks and encyclopedias have conspired to disseminate this particular humbuggery. Both comparative philology and European history have by other groups of the Kaiser's "bodyguard" been utilized in order to show that most of the great men of history have been Germans, and that those countries which Germany would like to annex were all once German and thus constitute a sort of *Germania Irredenta*. As good a Frenchman as Lafayette, no less a Spaniard than Murillo, and the Italian Leonardo da Vinci, were all in reality Germans. Shakespeare was really German, and Reimer has reached the conclusion that Jesus of Nazareth was likewise German. Upon German atlases the North Sea appears as the German Ocean. The well-known Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon* gives, on its chart showing the distribution of German dialects, Belgium, Holland, and a part of the Channel coast of France: Belgium does not speak French, but lower Frankish, according to German professors (4, p. 190).

No one in Germany is entirely immune from the emanations of the idea factory at Berlin. The Official News Service, the better to serve its ends, issues to professors in universities, to clergymen and to schoolmasters in Germany a synopsis of the foreign news in which articles taken from the foreign press are "condensed and summarized" (5, p. 56). In these abstracts a speech by Senator LaFollete or by the late Senator Stone, or a pacifist editorial from the New York *Nation* or *The New Republic* takes large space and naturally crowds out expressions and citations which would correctly represent the views of the American people. Errors which cannot have been unintentional have repeatedly appeared in the Wolff News Bureau, all of whose news, according to an official announcement of August 2, 1914, newspapers are authorized to publish "because it has been submitted for the approval of the Official News Service."

News from abroad officially "edited"

In the German Fatherland teachers in the public schools and pastors in the churches are state officials paid from the treasury. If either were to disseminate liberal views, he would be reported, and if he persisted, his career would be ended. Tale-bearing is in Germany inculcated and made compulsory in the school, as it is in the army; and officials are often honest only because they would be reported if they were not. Both teachers and preachers are charged with the education in loyalty to the state, and the discipline under each is essentially military. A preacher who did not exalt His Majesty the Kaiser with sufficient unction, and who did not enjoin absolute fidelity to the government's policies, would be waited upon by the military officer in com-

Teachers and preachers on government pay roll

mand of the district and his duty in this respect sharply brought to his attention. Repeated lapses would lose him his position.

At school restraint is seldom relaxed even during the recess periods, the play as well as the study being under surveillance, the physical exercise being undertaken to a considerable extent by marching in twos or fours.

The life of the citizen in Germany is kept always under restraint by the multitude of major and minor prohibitions made known through placards which stare at him in every public place. "*Verboten*," "*Streng verboten*" and "*Strengstens verboten*," indicate a chromatic scale of prohibitions for which there is a corresponding acceleration of the penalty, which ranges from a fine of perhaps two marks (fifty cents at par) to imprisonment for a longer or shorter term; and any infraction of the regulations is almost certain to be met by apprehension and punishment. The German baroness who has already been cited, tells us how, when driving, with no other vehicle in sight, her coachman turned to the left (instead of to the right) in order to avoid a puddle, was seen by a mounted policeman and held up. An American lady at the Pension Goermann in Dresden washed a lace handkerchief and hung it to dry on the balustrade of the balcony outside her window *on the third floor*. She was soon waited upon by a police official and a fine demanded for infraction of the rule which forbids exposing washing on the street front. So numerous are the regulations that police officials carry a large pocket volume in which the regulations are numbered and elaborately classified.

Verboten

It is highly probable that a far-seeing autocratic

government appreciates that this constant nagging for minor offenses eventually inculcates obedience by unconscious habit, just as military drill does, and is intended to do, in the army. This is the real secret of the docility and submissiveness of the German people under the tyranny of their German masters.

From his cradle the German imbibes the Teuton idea of unquestioning obedience to the rule of the state through the lullaby songs; this is continued in the patriotic songs which he later becomes familiar with; as it is also in the crashing harmonies in which are described the doings of the savage heroes of the Nibelungen legends which constitute his national music. The names of these barbarian heroes he naturally attaches to his defense lines in battle. These unconscious influences, added to the rigid discipline of home, church, and school, is capped by the brutality of the drill sergeant in the barracks in the production of the finished product of German *Kultur*.

Reverence for the Kaiser

Abbé Wetterlé in his inimicable manner has reproduced a scene at the Berlin Opera House which sets forth the attitude of the people in the presence of the Prussian War Lord:

"In the boxes and dress circles the diplomatists, high officials, and general officers posed in their shining uniforms, side by side with their wives and daughters, all of whom, in low-necked dresses, had donned their finest jewellery. The scene was marvelous, and yet I was to carry away a mournful impression of that evening. Indeed, as soon as the Emperor and his guests arrived the whole house rose. Silently the men bent themselves double and the women made a deep bow, after which, on the curtain rising, a chilly silence reigned during the whole performance. There was no applause except when the Sovereign gave the signal; no private conversation

even in a low voice. Moreover no one followed the actors' play. All eyes—in which one could read veritable devotion—were directed toward the Imperial box. After two hours of that torture I was glad to find myself once more under the Lindens, in the midst of the crowd, which, notwithstanding the cold, was standing there gazing at the wall 'behind which something was happening' " (6, p. 34).

The mark of respectability in Germany

By the use of titles, from *Oberkellner* (headwaiter), and *Schumacher* (cobbler) to *Excellenz* (Excellency), the highest of honorary titles; respectability and social rating is determined for those Germans who are outside the ruling military caste. The title of a husband extends to his wife, and *Frau Commerzienrat* Meyer is quite as likely to insist upon the use of the title as would her husband. In so well regulated a national family as modern Germany there is, however, little danger that such an affront will be given as to forget and fail to use the legitimate title. I well remember when a student at the University of Heidelberg the professor under whom I was doing special work was, by the Grand Duke of Baden, given the honorary title of *Geheimerbergrat* (Privy Counselor of Mines). Early the next morning and before the regular lecture by the professor, with all other students I was notified of the honor conferred and properly coached lest through inadvertence I should offend the professor by addressing him merely as Herr Professor Doktor, as before had been our custom.

There are many rungs in the ladder of honorary titles, each higher rung being made through prefixing an apparently superfluous adjective to the last. Thus in sequence there are *Rat* (Counselor), *Geheimrat* (Privy Counselor), *Hof* (*geheim*) *rat* (Court Privy Counselor),

Wirklicher Hofrat (Really and Truly Court Privy Counselor) and at the top of the ladder *Excellenz* (Excellency) which is awarded but sparingly. The great chemist Bunsen was the only Excellency which I remember to have seen at Heidelberg at the time I was a student there.

Not only has the social ladder many rungs, but there are many ladders to indicate the different lines of activity, and each has the same scale of successive steps, so that one additional name must be added to the titles above given; such, for example, as *Commerzien* (Business), *Sanitäts* (Medical), *Justicien* (Law), *Bau* (Architectural), etc. To an American these titles doubtless sound very silly, but in Germany they have the highest importance and value. A man of ability who does not receive a title does not make a career, and he is probably not wholly acceptable to the government. He, or far more likely his wife, is likely to institute a pretty rigid examination in order to determine in what he has offended or failed to show the proper zeal, to the end that the stigma may be removed (5 and 7).

The professors in the universities have been aptly characterized as the "intellectual bodyguards of the Hohenzollerns." If the slightest doubt of the correctness of this designation ever existed, it has now been dispelled by the behavior of German professors during the war; above all by the action of the ninety-three intellectuals who signed the notorious declaration "to the civilized world" that Germany had had no part in making this war together with only less palpable falsehoods. Although most of these professors probably desired to subscribe to the document, it would have been difficult for them

The intellectual bodyguard

to avoid doing so. Professor Adolf von Baeyer, the distinguished chemist of the University of Munich who heads the list, has since died and his lecture assistant has been in America and delivered lectures. It is reported upon good authority that this assistant reported of von Baeyer that he was called up on the telephone by a government official and merely notified that his signature was being affixed to the document.

But, I am told, it is well known that the German university professor is permitted entire freedom of thought in his teaching. Yes, in all matters except those which pertain to the policies and practices of the German Government. It is notorious that the German professors of philosophy and history, such, for example, as Hegel, Ranke, Sybel, Treitschke, Mommsen, and the present-day professors Lamprecht and Delbrück have specially glorified the part in the world which has been played by the House of Hohenzollern. Said Ranke, "the true destiny of Prussia is to be and remain a military monarchy." Rome was, according to Niebuhr, "the model of national development." Among them all there have been found none to glorify the heroes of the Revolution of 1848 who fought for freedom from autocratic rule. A German who were to attempt such praise would thereby end his career. Poultney Bigelow, the Kaiser's friend for twenty-five years, devoted himself for a number of years to a careful study of the history of Germany with the aid of every facility which the Kaiser could afford him. He was thus enabled to produce his four volume *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, but only at the cost of offending and forever losing favor with His Majesty the Kaiser—he had dared to tell the true story without regard to the feelings of the Hohenzollern rulers.

The supposed preëminence of German scholarship is to a very considerable extent based upon: 1st, the excellence of their teaching methods; 2d, the freedom of entrance into their universities as opposed to the antiquated and formal requirements which, until recently, have been insisted upon at French and English universities (8); 3d, the many well-written and comprehensive reference manuals, *Handbücher*, prepared upon each subject in the German language; and, 4th, the military exploitation for advertising purposes of German science at international congresses and committees. The most distinguished of German intellectuals have, with the support and encouragement of the German Government, attended these meetings in considerable numbers, and by carefully correlating their papers they have been able to produce a telling effect.

Superiority of German scholarship a myth

So soon as we review the field of scientific discovery and invention, we find that Germany's part is but small compared to that of France or England or even of America; and this was to have been expected by reason of her sacrifice of individuality to organization. This fact has been brought out by a well-known American scientist, Dr. W. J. Holland, in a pamphlet, *Germany and Science* (9).

The state course in discipline provided for the German citizen reaches its climax in military service under the Prussian drill sergeant, and what little individuality has survived to this point under the operation of the system, is now likely to be obliterated. Even the docile German people have been stung to protest by the frightful brutalities of the barrack yard. Striking in the face, kicking, and insulting with abusive language are

The rôle of the Prussian drill sergeant

among the lesser and commoner occurrences; while pricking with swords and being compelled to drink the contents of cuspidors are the severer abuses of this system. The facts have been established beyond all question by the trial of Rosa Luxemburg (10). And that the government desires to retain the system without essential modification is equally certain. It is but carrying out the dictum of Frederick the Great, who believed that a soldier should fear his officer more than he does the enemy. Such a training is, moreover, essential to an army which, instead of being led into battle, is driven in by its officers. The system is responsible for a large percentage of suicides of soldiers under training, and by perhaps an equal number among those who are trying to escape the ordeal through a success in studies which will permit them to serve as officers and acquire social standing as well. The pitiful story from this side is told by the baroness whom I have so often cited (2, p. 401). Little wonder that after the crowning work of tyranny by the drill sergeant the German citizen is ready to accept what the government supplies without any attempt to secure his liberties by a hopeless opposition. The experience of Karl Liebknecht may serve him as a sufficient warning. An American who does not know Germany from experience, should familiarize himself with the German system through the writings of the Countess von Arnim (11) or by reading the recent book *Christine* (12).

We are fighting Kaiser and Volk

Let no one be deceived into thinking that we have not been fighting the German people as well as the House of Hohenzollern. It is beyond doubt that there are many in Germany not in sympathy with the military party, but it is, in my belief, equally true that if an untrammelled

referendum were possible in Germany to determine whether the nation desired to replace the monarchy by a republic, the monarchy would win.

A generally well-informed writer who has helped to disseminate this misleading doctrine of the bad German Kaiser and the good German people, has, after a sojourn with the democratic German refugees in Switzerland, completely altered his opinion. He now quotes one of these refugees as follows: "Help can come only from one place, from Bethlehem—Bethlehem, Penn. But you do not realize it fully. They will cheat you yet, those Junkers. Having won one-half of the world by bloody murder, they are going to win the other half with tears in their eyes, crying for mercy" (13).

Whether this be true or not, nothing save a crushing military defeat will bring serious disaffection in the army, and without this destruction of the bulwark of Kaiserdom no democracy is even conceivable in Germany.

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VIII

HOW GERMANY PREPARED FOR WAR BY PEACEFUL PENETRATION

"Nothing more fantastic yet real, more splendid or squalid, more sublime or base, has been conceived by the most imaginative writer of fiction. It is a gorgeous vision of which many of the elements are ugly, base, and repulsive, a vision which seizes and fascinates the imagination while it chills the moral sense of the spectator."—E. J. DILLON.

"Long before the war the German Government, through its agents in this country sought to control practically every important and essential industry. It was part of her plan to colonize, subdue, and control the world. She planted a great industrial and commercial army on American soil, and that army had become so large and so powerful that when the war broke out in 1914, Germany believed it would be strong enough to keep America out of the war."—A. MITCHEL PALMER, Alien Property Custodian of the United States, 1918.

HOW by making her army the strongest in Europe and by setting out to challenge England's supremacy upon the sea, Germany laid her plans for the great war, we have already seen; as we have how she made special supplementary military preparations for launching the war in the summer of 1914. These were, however, but a part of her preparations; for Germany's claim has been that war is but a more acute phase of a contest to the death which is carried out along commercial and other lines, and that the complement to strengthening at home is to weaken the enemy state.

Military preparation a part only

Of the extent to which these latter methods have

been carried, or better, the depths to which they have sunk; the world has known comparatively little. Even writers of wide reputation in the fields of commerce and industry would appear to have been quite oblivious to them, though the considerations are of the utmost importance. The Paris *Figaro* probably expressed fairly the prevailing opinion in France when it said that, bad as were the present conditions, it was after all better to have two million *barbares casqués* fighting in their country than to have fifteen million *barbares masqués* operating peacefully within their borders.

Having had the opportunity in successive visits to observe the workings of Germany's peaceful penetration in Switzerland, Italy, and France, and to a less extent in other countries where German peaceful penetration has been in progress, such as Russia and Egypt; the pithy characterization of *Figaro* appears to me to be fully warranted by the facts.

Peaceful penetration

More than to any one else we owe to Henri Hauser, the distinguished French economist, such awakening as has come to this peril in German commercialism; though Schwob, Andrillon, Gray, Léon Daudet, Vergnet, and McLaren (1) have each sounded a warning. The English or American who would become familiar with this subject is recommended to consult especially Hauser's *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World*, and his *Economic Germany* (2); as well as A. D. McLaren's *Peaceful Penetration* (1), Wallace's *Greater Italy* (3), and Dr. Dillon's *From the Triple to the Quadruple Alliance* (4).

The object of the German methods is to reduce the rival state to a condition of economic vassalage, through a combination of methods which have been collectively described as "peaceful penetration" or "commercial

infiltration." This object is achieved most easily in the case of states contiguous to Germany, though, thanks to her excellent subsidized merchant marine, Germany has extended her penetration even to the most distant countries. Her success has been most marked in the case of Italy, though only less so in Switzerland, France, Holland, Belgium, and Russia; and among more distant countries, in Egypt, Brazil, Argentine, Chili, Australia, and the United States. Says Hauser:

"Another twenty years of this universal peaceful penetration and all the adverse forces would have been neutralized, strangled by the presence in every national organization of the agents of German expansion. Another twenty years and the syndicate of five or six great Berlin banks would have assumed the economic direction of the world."

This statement, strong as it is, seems to be fully warranted by the facts; though the German system carried with it its special dangers which might even have wrecked it, and this necessity to save the system from disaster was perhaps even a contributing cause of the great war.

Iron and coal resources the basis

The fundamental condition which permits of extensive peaceful penetration, is a dominance in the production of iron and steel, the basis of modern industry; and for this the state must possess its own developed resources of coal and iron. As regards the former, Germany's superiority in Europe has long been overwhelming. Before the war Germany produced annually 191,000,000 tons of hard coal and an additional 82,000,000 tons of lignite or brown coal. It has already been explained how Germany's poverty in iron ores was remedied by the rape of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871. From an annual production of iron

ore which was only 1,000,000 tons in 1870, Germany's yield in ore soon passed that of England, and in the year before the war was 28,000,000 tons from her own territory and an additional 7,000,000 tons from Luxembourg, which was included in her Customs Union.

Her ever more ambitious iron industry was bringing in an additional 14,000,000 tons of imported ore in order to serve her capacious maw. This mighty transformation of her industries was largely concentrated within the six-year period between 1894 and 1901. The consumption of coal per capita of the population increased in this period nearly one half and that of iron more than one half. The production of iron had at the end of this interval increased from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000 tons and that of coal from 95,000,000 to 136,000,000 tons (2).

The will to power

Now it is necessary to credit the German people with certain praiseworthy qualities for this achievement in development, which is a little short of astounding. For it there were necessary wise foresight and that patient persevering industry which the German people possess in larger measure perhaps than any other. There was also requisite a degree of organization of a distinctly military character, which is possible only in a people reduced to the position of slaves by the disciplinary processes described in the last chapter; and there was essential, further, a concentration of technical knowledge and skill. This latter is largely the product of the eleven German polytechnic schools, which every year have twelve thousand students and yield about three thousand engineers to German industry.

Most important of all, however, has been that will to power of the German state which has subordinated

every other consideration to a conquest of the world, by methods which are equally detestable whether in one or the other of the closely coördinated fields of peaceful and military penetration.

Now the effect of Germany's revolution of industry has been to employ in her workshops millions of her citizens who before had been devoted to agriculture. In order to feed itself, workers must be brought by the state from outside German territory in order to operate the deserted farms, unless it is to purchase all its food abroad through the sale of its merchandise. Germany has followed both courses, bringing in each year more than seven hundred thousand laborers, mainly from Russia, and importing large quantities of food products from overseas. **The Tentacular State**

Through excessive over-production of the products of her workshops during the last decade before the war, Germany had become more and more dependent upon outside markets, and in consequence was feverishly seeking to reach out in new directions after customers. She thus became a "tentacular state"—an octopus of industry. It is necessary clearly to comprehend this condition in order to appreciate the spur behind her missionaries of industry in developing the base methods of her commercial infiltration.

What then, are these methods? The question can best be answered by considering the case of Italy, since she has been the greatest victim. Says Dr. E. J. Dillon, one of the keenest and best-informed writers upon European affairs: **Methods of penetration**

"Nothing more fantastic yet real, more splendid or squalid, more sublime or base, has been conceived by the most imaginative writer of fiction. It is a gorgeous vision

of which many of the elements are ugly, base, and repulsive, a vision which seizes and fascinates the imagination while it chills the moral sense of the spectator. The central action centers around a bank which, created almost out of nothing, wormed itself into the economic organism of the kingdom, grubbing up capital as it wriggled forward, undermined native industries and institutions, seized and bereft them of their national character, teutonized their direction and activity, but left them their pristine shape and color; and in this way caught in its clutches production and distribution, metallurgical works, steamship companies, financial institutions, municipalities, electoral constituencies, influential press organs, chiefs of parliamentary parties and Cabinet Ministers, and swayed the nation's policy, negotiating peace, ending war, imposing neutrality, and exercising suzerain rights in the guise of the accomplishment of patriotic duty. No more astounding phenomenon has been revealed to the world's view by any period of human history." (4, p. 74.)

The forms of activity

As Dr. Dillon points out, the German activities looking toward the penetration of Italy, began with the banking institution, and has ever since centered around it. This has also quite generally been true in the other fields where there has been German penetration. The four most important methods of insinuation into the affairs of the rival state have, according to Hauser, been German banks, cartels, transportation systems, and those peculiar subterranean activities which are grouped under the term, German state action.

Banca Commerciale Italiana

The *Banca Commerciale Italiana* (Italian Commercial Bank) was founded in Italy in 1895 by a group of German financiers using a capital of four million dollars, a most modest sum for what it was planned to accomplish. This bank

early took advantage of the compliant Italian law governing the formation of joint stock companies, and it is said to have formed no less than 793 of them, the majority not quoted on 'change, but representing an aggregate invested capital of $779,634,000. The control of such an amount of capital in Italy confers control of the state. With stock so widely scattered, fictitious majorities were easily secured by the three German Jews, Joel, Weil, and Toepliz, who have managed the affairs of the bank. The thirty million dollars of the recent stock of the *Banca Commerciale* were distributed in a way to calm suspicions and to give this financial octopus a seeming Italian character. By clever manipulation of such enormous resources, the Italian stock exchange can be affected at will and thousands of families impoverished in consequence.

Special advantages were extended by the bank to German merchants, while independent concerns were boycotted, their financial status affected by unfavorable statements made in high quarters and furnished by the "secret and confidential information bureau"; so that credit would be denied them. Individuals, institutions, and joint stock companies were silently struck down by these *fiches d'informations*, and ruin followed as a matter of course.

"By these and kindred methods," continues Dillon, "Italian industries were besieged and stormed or forced to surrender at discretion. In the latter case they were taken over and dealt with as 'tied houses,' being allowed to eke out a more or less stagnant existence, on condition that they followed the German lead and contributed to the realization of the German plan. And as every fresh victory added to the power as well as the prestige of the Teuton institution, the campaign ended in the

Growth of power

subjugation of every enterprise of importance in the Kingdom. Metallurgical factories, shipbuilding works, steamship companies, greater and lesser electrical works, almost all fell under the control of the *Banca Commerciale* which laid down such rules for their activity as were conducive to the success of the broad scheme of interpenetration." (4, p. 78.)

Cartels

The great business trusts of Germany differ from those in the United States, supposedly the home of the trust, in that they maintain a close relationship to the state and are, in fact, its wards. These state-supported syndicates, or *cartels*, are a vital part of the system of penetration. Among them are the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd Steamship Companies, the *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft*, the Siemens & Halske Company, the great Krupp establishment, etc. Through the agency of the shipping companies, the tentacles of the German octopus are extended to the remotest portions of the earth, so that Australia and the South American republics have been among the worst victims of peaceful penetration. The method by which the cartels operate in the foreign country is to sell their products there at rates low enough to stifle competition, the while recouping themselves by a higher profit exacted of the docile Germans at home. These Germans are in no position to object, even if they know of the working of the system; and it is in any case preached to them that their duty is to submit uncomplainingly to anything which makes for the extension of *Deutschtum* in the world.

The foreign press control

By devious methods the press of the invaded state is brought under the influence of *Deutschtum*, the German language press, particularly, being often secretly owned in Germany and its proprietorship disguised in various ways.

By May, 1914, in order still further to enlarge the powers of German propaganda through the medium of the press, Dr. Hammann, head of the Official News Service of the German Government, had completed the organization of a special bureau for poisoning the foreign press. The operation of this bureau is illustrated by the following incident: One of the best known woman newspaper reporters of Norway was asked by the head of this bureau if she would not like to do some easy work which would require little time and for which she would be well paid. Upon asking for particulars, she was informed:

Dr. Hammann's special news bureau

"Germany wishes to educate other countries to an appreciation of things German. Within a year, or at most within two years, we shall be doing this by sending to foreign newspapers articles which will instruct the world about Germany. Of course it is not advisable to send them directly from our own bureau; it is much better to appear to have them come from the correspondents of the various foreign newspapers. Thus, we shall send you articles which you need only copy or translate and sign." (5, p. 93.)

Perhaps the most noteworthy of pro-German correspondents of the American newspapers has been William Bayard Hale, D.D., of the Hearst Syndicate, who later headed the German Information Bureau in America and who was afterwards shown to be a German spy and agent by papers captured by the police in the office of Franz von Igel, von Bernstorff's accomplice in New York. Other Germanized American press correspondents have been James O'Donnell Bennett, whose shamelessly pro-German and anti-American articles sent from the entourage of von Hindenburg

The teutonized foreign correspondents

have continued to appear in American papers, Karl Heinrich von Weigand, the special correspondent of the New York *World;* and Carl W. Ackermann, who since his return to this country has claimed conversion to an American viewpoint.

Those German language newspapers of the United States which before the war had eked out a precarious existence, after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe became strangely prosperous and were able to maintain their own special correspondents at the German capital. Some of them, notably a Cleveland newspaper, upon investigation proved to be owned in Germany, with the ostensible proprietor and editor a trustee only. George Sylvester Viereck, editor of *Viereck's Weekly*, and until its suppression by the government, of *Fatherland*, has confessed that he received $100,000 from the German Imperial Ambassador for the distribution of pro-German pamphlets at a cost of less than $25,000. Louis N. Hammerling, self-elected President of the Association of Foreign Language Newspapers and the head of a New York advertising agency, received from the German Government $205,000 for placing advertisements favorable to Germany in both foreign and English language newspapers as part of a campaign conducted in 1915 against the manufacture and shipment of munitions by the United States. He has since been under arrest in connection with anti-American activities.

I have been informed by one of the best American newspaper business men that he was approached and given *carte blanche* to buy up any and all struggling American periodicals with a generous bonus for himself. The proposition was turned down, but as this occurred more than a year ago, it suggests that the political bias

of certain of our literary political journals be carefully scrutinized with this in mind. Some of them, it is true, could not be made worse than they had been, and it is a fact of sinister import that with the exception of Harvey's *War Weekly* and *The Villager* we have not a single well-known weekly political journal which represents a sturdy American viewpoint on the war.

Most discouraging of all, the great Hearst newspaper Syndicate with newspapers in cities and towns stretching from one end of the country to the other, has been from the start under strong German influence. When the rising spirit of the country had required it to tone down its praise of Germany, the guns of the Syndicate were turned upon England in accord with the then intensified motif of German propaganda. So gross have been the statements which the Hearst newspapers have directed against Great Britain, that the British Government was compelled to stop the transmission of Hearst news over their cable system. Notwithstanding its strong anti-American attitude, the Hearst Syndicate has been permitted to operate without interference, though less powerful organizations have been ruthlessly suppressed. According to the *Tribune*, among the Hearst employees have been Albert Sander, dramatic critic of the *Deutsches Journal*, a convicted spy master; Hans von Stengel, writer on the same paper who has been interned; William Bayard Hale, secret head editor of German propaganda for the United States, and from his intimacy with President Wilson jokingly referred to by Germans as "the kitchen entrance to the White House"; Albrecht de Montgelas, art critic of the Chicago *Examiner* and an interned German propagandist; Arthur W. Mateikat writer for the *Deutsches Journal* and the friend of

Sander; and Theodore Sutro, editor-in-chief of the *Deutsches Journal* and the high official of the National German-American Alliance who defended this disloyal organization before the Committee of Inquiry of the United States Senate. Mr. William R. Hearst, the proprietor of the syndicate, has been friendly to Jeremiah O'Leary, indicted Sinn Feiner, and with Bolo Pasha, executed for high treason in France (6).

Attacks upon the Hearst papers by patriotic speakers in the Council of National Defense have been stopped by Secretary Baker, and as a consequence Dr. James A. B. Scheerer, Chief Field Agent of the State Councils Section, has resigned and published an open letter (7).

Germany's aim in penetration of alien countries has been to gain control of what may be called key industries. Foremost among these are the iron and steel industry, and next in order the other metal industries of production and trade. Herr Thyssen, the great German iron-master, had his mines, iron smelters, and docks in British India, in Holland, on the Black Sea in Southern Russia, and in France in the Calvados district of Brittany. Under fictitious names he was able to work his way also into the Minette area of France. Says Hauser:

Control of metal production

"At the same time he (Thyssen) sent his divers to Diélette to search for ore under the sea: He planted his agents in the mining and metallurgical company of Calvados, started under some one else's name the company of mines and quarries at Flamanville, and then the powerful company of smelting and steel works of Caen. By these operations he gained the double advantage of buying ore from us and selling coke to us. With the iron of Lorraine and Normandy and the coal of Westphalia, Germany could be the mistress of the world." (2, p. 19.)

Australia, one of the richest repositories of metals to be found anywhere in the world, discovered after the outbreak of war in 1914 that the entire vast metal industry of the country was in the grip of German capital, with contract arrangements restricting the sale to certain agents, who were sending the ore to Europe for treatment. It was soon discovered that while these agents were nominally in London and had English names, they were in reality Germans living at Frankfort-on-the-Main. For some months after war had been declared the British Government was buying Australian lead, zinc, and copper through this German agency, whereby Germany had been getting its zinc for about one third the price paid by Great Britain.

Australia's plight

To meet the intolerable situation in which Australia found herself, she was forced to pass the War Precaution Act, under the operation of which every German contract was annulled, every German trademark cancelled, and every company given three months' notice to strike every German shareholder, whether naturalized or not, off their registers (1, p. 55).

The War Precaution Act

In this year of grace 1918 it has been discovered that the Becker Steel Company of America with a plant at Charleston, West Virginia, producing a special "high speed" steel of great value, instead of being an American institution as claimed, is held in trust for the *Aktien Gesellschaft* of Willich, Germany. The Vice-President of the company made report to the Alien Enemy Custodian that the property was entirely American owned. Investigation showed, however, that it was owned in Germany, and the President of the Company afterwards admitted that of the 5297

shares of stock 5000 were owned in Germany. It came out also that 33,075 pounds of the rare and valuable tungsten used for special steels had been shipped from this firm to Germany on the merchant submarine *Deutschland* when it came to this country in 1915.

In addition to the metal trades there are other industries which are properly designated key industries; since they are industries on which the continued normal life of the state depends. Such are water supply and electric lighting and the various other enterprises generally classed as public utilities. In all countries where German penetration has been in progress, the absorption of these industries has nearly always gone on, though generally under disguises of one sort or another so that the German ownership would not be suspected.

Other key industries monopolized by Germany

The "group system" of infiltration of men has been for a well-trained German artisan to obtain a post below his station in the office of a foreign company, and through ingratiating himself with the company by means of his superior ability, to get others inducted into the firm upon the same basis as himself, until at length a group of Germans has been formed and acquires control. These men are all spies who send to the Fatherland the secrets of the Company, and should they be unsuccessful in acquiring control, they are in position to start a competitive concern and ruin the original company. For their purpose the method of the *cartel* already described is resorted to, capital being supplied to run the business, at a loss if necessary, until the original firm has been destroyed. Much use is made both of fictitious names and of genuine names which correspond in character to those common in the country invaded. To illustrate the working of the

system in Switzerland, Hauser has supplied the following data concerning certain Swiss firms in German control: *Société Anonyme pour l'Industrie de l'Aluminium* (Neûchatel) with a staff of eight Germans, one Austrian, and six Swiss; *Banque des Chemins de Fer Orientaux* (Zürich), with a staff of eight Germans, one Frenchman, one Belgian, one Austrian, and five Swiss; *Banque pour Entreprises Électriques* (Zürich) with a staff of fifteen Germans and nine Swiss; and the *Société des Valeurs de Metaux* (Bâle), with a staff of ten Germans and five Swiss (2, p. 21).

Cotton and wool

The cotton and wool industries are of foremost importance, and their products are especially so for Germany, which must provide such goods even when normal conditions of trade are broken by blockade. Four years after war had begun and a year and a half after the entry of the United States, it was first discovered that the great Forstmann & Huffmann Company and the Botany Worsted Mills at Passaic, New Jersey, two of the largest wool concerns in the United States, were in reality German concerns owned in Leipsic; and that by false statements they had deceived the government authorities and been permitted to continue operating during the war, purchasing their wool in Australia through parties who lent themselves to the enterprise for a consideration, and shipping uniforms to Germany by way of Sweden as a consequence of additional false statements given to the government (8).

Chemicals, drugs, and dyes

The basis of most chemicals used in various industries, especially the dyes which play so large a rôle in the manufacture of textile fabrics, is coal-tar, a by-product from the distillation of coal to produce gas and coke. Germany's great

resources in coal gave her opportunities which she was quick to grasp by developing a system of education in technical chemistry unrivaled in the world. A result has been that she had acquired what has amounted to a world monopoly of the production of fine chemicals, pharmaceutical preparations, dyes, and explosives; all so interlocked and interrelated in their manufacture, involving such an outlay of capital, such a highly trained personnel, and so many years to perfect the industry, that in normal times of peace her lead over the world could hardly have been overcome.

This has occurred notwithstanding the fact that the basal discoveries upon which the dye industry has been founded, those of aniline-violet and fuchsine, were not German, but English and French. In this field also the poison gas of deceit covered the advance of peaceful penetration into French territory. At Neuville-sur-Saône under a French name the *Badische Sodafabrik* was actually manufacturing the madder dye for the red trousers of French uniforms. Similarly the *Compagnie Parisienne des Couleurs d'Aniline* was nothing but a branch of the German firm of Meister, Lucius & Bruning (2, p. 20).

The war has served a useful purpose and given other nations the necessary opportunity to, in part, make up Germany's lead in the dye industry. Her monopoly in that field has now been broken, though it will still be many years before the technically trained staffs can be provided to operate upon equal terms with Germany.

Manufacture of war materials

Now the basis of high explosives is phenol, which is produced in connection with the dye industry, and it is little likely that a nation whose principal business is war had overlooked the advantage of building up a great system of chemical

plants, which, when the foreign demand for dyes and drugs had been cut off by war conditions, could be quickly transformed into producers of tri-nitro-toluol (T.N.T.) the high explosive which must then be produced upon a prodigious scale for war operations.

Germany's great plant for the production of guns and shells, that of the Krupp's at Essen, utilizing as it has the Lorraine ores and operating in connection with the great chemical plants, has given Germany an unrivaled position both in the manufacture and in the sale of war materials. From a military standpoint there are in this many obvious advantages. Through the low cost of large scale production, it is temporarily to the advantage of neighbor states in peace times to purchase war materials from Germany, but in doing this they leave themselves without the means of production when it has suited Germany's purpose to turn and rend them. Germany on the other hand, in the event of war, possesses the plants and the skilled workmen ready at hand for any increased production, and this without interfering with other industries.

German state activities

The methods of the German state in guiding and stimulating commercial infiltration into its neighbor states, have been so many and so devious that a few only can be mentioned. Her embassies and consulates, existing by the courtesy and favor of friendly states, have been made the headquarters of her spy system and of subterranean operations which to-day are sufficiently characterized by the designation "German." Falsification of trademarks to secure successful competition with firms which depend upon refinement in art, notoriously lacking in Germany, has been one of the commonest of these methods, and it has reacted most heavily upon France,

the very embodiment of refinement in manufacture. The securing of trade secrets by introducing men under false names and pretenses, has been another common and well-established method of German penetration.

A boycott of American goods

Soon after the German occupation of Shantung, China, in 1905, there occurred a wholesale boycott of American goods which extended throughout the Chinese Empire. Large placards in the Chinese language appeared warning the people not to purchase American goods. In this there was much that puzzled the American firms engaged in the Chinese trade, for no sooner did the goods come ashore from the ships than they were found to be labeled in Chinese characters as American, so that no Chinaman should purchase under misunderstanding.

Mr. Gustavus Ohlinger, who has done so much to enlighten Americans, concerning Teuton propaganda in the United States, was at the time of the Chinese boycott practicing law in Shanghai. To try a law case in a court where the German language was used, he went to Tsingtau, the capital of the German concession, and being taken for a German was treated accordingly. He was invited to an inspection of the Imperial German Printing Office, where to his stupefaction he saw the posters and labels used to boycott American goods actually being printed upon the presses of the German Government. Thus the boycott of our goods proved to be not primarily Chinese, but German, and this contemptible practice had been resorted to as a means of securing the business for Germany. Such a revelation of perfidy makes one despair of means of protection against a "friendly" nation which practices the method of the outlaw in peace as well as in war (14).

The spy system of the German banks operating

within a foreign state has been connected up with the military espionage, and has in fact constituted much the most important part of the espionage system. Consider for a moment the opportunity of control by the *Banca Commerciale* over electrical industries which it owns in Italy. At any hour of the day or night "electrical trouble" can occur, either with or without assistance, and in consequence all institutions, including fortresses and barracks, can be entered by German agents under special privilege. Or consider the way in which German Fire Insurance Companies on pretext of inspecting the property to see whether regulations are complied with, can insinuate their agents into places from which the government desires for obvious reasons that they be excluded. It was the German Fire Insurance Companies in America which gathered much of the information and compassed many of the explosions in munition plants before their business was taken from them. Of a Teuton it is only necessary to know that the opportunity for advantage exists, since no ethical standards are likely to deter him from making use of it.

The spy system

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IX

THE "GREATER EMPIRE" OF GERMAN EXPANSION—*DEUTSCHTUM IM AUSLAND*

"Thousands of your fellow-countrymen are living in all parts of the world, German wares, German knowledge, German business energy, traverse the ocean. The earnest duty, then, devolves upon you to form a strong link with this Greater Empire, binding it to the Empire at home."—WILLIAM II., on the 25th Anniversary of the foundation of the German Empire.

"To speak German is to remain German."—LUDWIG FULDA.

"For if the German who intends to remain there [in America] does not become a citizen, he has no vote at the elections, no influence of any kind on the conduct of the nation's political affairs. He must become an American; he is permitted, however, and can and ought in heart, thought, nature, and act to remain a German."—HERMANN ONCKEN.

NOWHERE has the aim of modern Germanism been more concisely stated than in the Kaiser's speech above cited. To accomplish this end of keeping German emigrants loyal to the Fatherland and making of them purveyors of German industry and commerce as well as German propagandists, has been one of the prime objects of German penetration. The chief end and aim of all these efforts has been to retain the use of the German language among those Germans who have emigrated, experience in many parts of the world having shown conclusively the truth of the assertion that to continue to speak German is to remain German.

Deutschtum im Ausland

German schools, and especially German church parochial schools, throughout the world have therefore been assiduously cultivated, and a list of all such schools is published in Germany. This has been one of the most sinister influences in the modern history of democracies, supported as it has been by professors of the German language in the adopted country, these professors having been little better than German agents when they have not been so in fact.

It was soon learned by Germany that in coming under other than strictly German influences, the German emigrants began to realize that their allegiance belonged to the new homeland where they had cast in their fortunes. The most potent influence in giving them this viewpoint has been the public school.

The German *Realien* exploited in America

To meet this obstacle in her path Germany organized, in foreign countries, the German societies and *Lokals* where Germans would assemble, keep up the use of the German language, and see about them the colors and the pictures of the Fatherland, especially the portraits of the Kaiser and the members of the royal family. The drinking of beer, Germany's national beverage to which they were habituated, has been a potent bond of union. *Turnvereine* (gymnastic societies), *Schützenvereine* (rifle clubs), army reserve societies, and coöperative life insurance companies, such as the *Arbeiter:* have all been utilized to the full in order to keep emigrated Germans from becoming good citizens of the countries where they have thrown in their lot.

Within the United States the local German-American Alliances were federated into the National German-American Alliance, which has not merely served to supply organization and stimulation to *Deutschtum*

im Ausland, but has maintained close connections with the Fatherland and been the potent means of preventing a proper fusion within the nation's "melting pot." This organization was recently investigated by a Committee of Inquiry of the United States Senate, as a result of which it was found to have fostered disloyalty and has been in consequence broken up (1). Some statements taken from its *Official Bulletin*, which is not distributed to the public but which figured in the evidence, will be of interest:

The National German-American Alliance

"The National Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical slaves of political and personal liberty" (*Official Bulletin*, vol. vii., No. 9, p. 4).

In a pamphlet published by the Alliance in 1911, which was entitled *The Chronological History of the National German-American Alliance of the United States*, these statements occur:

"Furthermore, the National German-American Alliance aims to bring about this unity of feeling among the population of German origin in America, and even if it only approximates its aim, the centralization of the German-American element, it will, nevertheless, have accomplished as great a work as was performed in 1871 by Bismarck. . . .

"The National German-American Alliance has succeeded in consolidating the German element in the United States. . . .

"For years, quietly but steadfastly, German-American ideals have thus been brought to the foreground by the unification of the German-American efforts in American public life." (1, p. 161.)

To ease the consciences of those Germans in foreign countries who had sworn or would swear allegiance to

their new country in accepting its citizenship, Germany at the instigation of Professor Delbrück of the University of Berlin enacted in 1913 the outrageous law of dual allegiance. This law said in effect: "You may pretend to be a citizen of your new country in order to reap the advantages and opportunities which go with citizenship, but you can really retain your fealty to the German Fatherland." In his *Historical and Political Essays and Speeches*, Hermann Oncken, Professor of Modern History at the University of Heidelberg, says of this law: "For if the German who intends to remain there (in America) does not become a citizen, he has no vote at the elections, no influence of any kind on the conduct of the nation's political affairs. He must become an American; he is permitted, however, and can and ought in heart, thought, nature, and act to remain a German."

The Delbrück law of dual allegiance

Kuno Francke, now Professor Emeritus of Germanic Languages at Harvard University, and a naturalized American citizen, wrote the following poem, published in the German text *Im Vaterland*, which children in our schools are, from instructions in the preface, requested to commit to memory:

"Oh, Germany, of all thy children
None love thee so much as we,
We that be far from thee,
Germans across the sea."

In August, 1915, a party of two hundred Boston Germans, most of whom were American citizens, sat down to dinner on the interned steamship *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* lying in Boston harbor, pledged their loyalty to the Kaiser by wireless, and in reply received

a message. Their names were printed in the *Providence Journal* (2, p. 9).

As a consequence of the outrageous Delbrück law, citizenship of German-Americans, German-Brazilians, etc., is without value in indicating allegiance, save only where words and actions alike indicate that the man who has accepted the citizenship is no longer a German but, on the contrary, a man of honor.

The German professor again

The oft-quoted statement that German professors constitute the intellectual bodyguard of the Hohenzollerns, has been verified not only in the Fatherland but in the adopted country. Professor W. W. Florer of the German Department of the University of Michigan, though born an American citizen, has been for a number of years preceding the war the notoriously active head of the "educational" work of the National German-American Alliance in the State of Michigan. It was he who managed the American tour of Dr. Eugen Kuehnemann, who came to the United States in 1915 in succession to Dr. Dernberg as the Kaiser's special agent for propaganda purposes (3, p. 24).

A wolf in sheep's clothing

Taking advantage of the fact that the head of the Michigan Branch of the Sons of the American Revolution was an ardent pacifist, Professor Florer got himself appointed the State Manager of "An Americanization Movement," under which deceptive title he preached German kultur while organizing many new branches of the S. A. R., and his chief later became a vice-President of the national body. Coming under criticism for the pro-German doctrines he was preaching, as the spirit of the nation rose, Florer now got himself appointed State Historian by the same plastic officials of the State organization.

Praise of Germany being now unpopular, Florer marched in step with the new motif of German propaganda and under the ægis of the Sons of the American Revolution he lectured in many parts of the State on the history of the American Revolution. Other lectures upon the same subject were reported in the *Official Bulletin* of the German-American Alliance to have been given under the auspices of the University of Michigan Extension Department (3, pp. 10, 31).

These "history" lectures of Professor Florer ignored the part of France in achieving our independence, stirred up hatred against England, and through failing to mention the part of the Hessians and magnifying the part played by German-Americans, there was left upon his audiences the impression that American independence had been achieved by Germans. In one of his statements he even claimed that our American Revolutionary fathers drew their inspiration from Schiller, who at the time was seventeen years of age. Some of Professor Florer's later meetings stopped little short of riots, so intense was the feeling against him.

A premature Bismarck celebration

In the spring of 1914, a few months only before the outbreak of war, Professor Florer managed a great celebration at Ann Arbor in glorification of modern Germany, the celebration being given ostensibly under the auspices of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club then in session at the seat of the State University. This event was staged on April 1st, the anniversary of the birthday of the Iron Chancellor. The German Consul-General came from Chicago to deliver the principal address, the German Männerchor was brought from Detroit, many German organizations, the Schoolmasters' Club and the University all joined in the celebration upon

the campus of the University. Since the date chosen for the celebration was the ninety-ninth, and not the one hundredth anniversary of Bismarck's birthday, the falling of the date upon "All Fool's Day" is full of suggestion, and one is inclined to ask who it was that made the original suggestion for the meeting. Was it Professor Florer, or some one higher up who had full knowledge of the German plans for the late summer of 1914, plans which made it inadvisable to delay the event until the true jubilee anniversary of the man of "blood and iron."

In the summer of 1914, the British Association for the Advancement of Science held its annual meeting in Australia. Certain distinguished scientists of other countries were specially invited to attend, and quite unusual courtesies were extended to them. On the authority of McLaren, we learn that this cordial hospitality was utilized by the German guests, Professors Graebner, Penck, and Pringsheim, to secure late military information for the German Government. Graebner and Pringsheim remained in Australia until after war had been declared, and when ready to return to Germany they requested permission of the Australian Government, on the ground that they were international scientists and therefore neutral, making much of "the cosmopolitan character of science" and its high moral claims. In short, they protested too much, and suspicion became aroused. When permission was promised them on condition that they would take the oath of neutrality, their evident reluctance to do so greatly strengthened the suspicions. Their correspondence was thereupon intercepted and revealed them as spies. (4.)

Professors as Germany's spies

Professor Penck of Berlin University, the foremost

of German geographers, had taken the oath of neutrality without demur and had accordingly been permitted to sail for England. As a consequence of discovering the quality of his colleagues, his baggage was overhauled before he had reached England and was found to contain more complete information concerning Australia's military operations than had the intercepted correspondence of his colleagues (4). All were alike spies collecting material for that conquest of Australia which the Kaiser a full two years before had forecast in glowing term to Herr Thyssen and the other German captains of industry.

Professor Penck, who has long been known to me personally, has more than the normal allowance of that German form of good comradeship which for want of an equivalent expression we call *Gemüthlichkeit*, and save only that he is a Teuton with corresponding ideals and ethics, there would be no reason whatever to suppose that he is not a gentleman and a man of honor.

Germany's preparations for this war have included as a not unimportant guarantee of neutralization of potentially hostile elements, the setting up of kinglets with pro-German sympathies upon the thrones of the Balkans—a region where, in the language of Wyatt, "raising trouble was an easy thing to do."

Teuton kinglets of the Balkans

Thirty years ago, almost daily, I saw the then Crown Prince Constantine of Greece in his white *Stürmer* going about among his duelling corps brothers of the Heidelberger Saxo-Borussen. When I then read, first, of the attentions showered upon him during his visit to Berlin, and, later, of his marriage with the Princess Sophia, sister of the Kaiser, little did I dream that the inevitable consequence was to be the future success

of Prussian intrigues so far as the Balkan region was concerned. Before the war had been launched, a Hohenzollern favorable to Germany had been seated upon the throne of Roumania, and a retired Austrian colonel known for his selfish greed and his overmastering ambition, had become the Tsar of Bulgaria. Tsar Ferdinand had signed a secret compact with the Kaiser which required that, contrary to the known sympathies of his subjects, he should attack their friends and benefactors in Europe and coöperate in binding Austro-Hungary to vassalage under the German Empire (5).

German tools in democratic nations

As regards more advanced nations, the methods employed by Germany for securing either neutrality or support, according as conditions might determine, were of a wholly different nature, and fitted to the local conditions. Every inherent weakness of the state, whether actual or potential, was studied by experts; and plots were laid to exploit these weaknesses to the utmost. In every way possible the spirit of nationalism was destroyed, and the integrity of the nation was to be broken down if at all possible.

In Italy it was Giolitti, in France Caillaux, who was chosen for the agent, whereas in England Lord Haldane, perhaps unconsciously, played the hand of Germany and effectually prevented that preparation which the war cloud already looming up indicated should be made at once if at all. In the United States, William Jennings Bryan and David Starr Jordan shared the honors as the dupes who between them were by their efforts pretty effectually to neutralize all the attempts of far-seeing and patriotic men to draw the only correct conclusion from the signs of the times.

In England one of the greatest soldiers of his day who

will by posterity be accorded the title of a great patriot, threw age-long traditions to the wind, and, eight years before the storm broke, sent out a clarion call to arm or perish—a call which resounded from one end of the empire to the other. The pacifist government of Great Britain, properly shocked by these methods of Lord Roberts, undertook to suppress him. The people also showed only too clearly that they preferred to believe the agreeable doctrines of the pacifist, Norman Angell, author of *The Great Illusion*, whose writings claimed to prove war an impossibility, and pointed to the almost ideal conditions of Belgium —a nation rich, prosperous, and unprepared.

Haldaneism in England

Lord Haldane, then the British Minister of State for War and much under the spell of German achievements, administered a rebuke to the veteran Field Marshal and threatened to take away his pension if he did not desist from his warnings. Haldane was later continued in the Asquith Ministry as Chancellor of the Exchequer, until, when the storm predicted by Lord Roberts had broken, an aroused people forced him into retirement.

Defeatism in France

All the influences inimical to the country's welfare, were in France marshalled behind Caillaux, now on trial for high treason. For years no French Government had dared to oppose this powerful dictator, who had held the highest offices in the state, and had employed them to further *Deutschtum*. After the defeatist movement had nearly wrecked the great cause in 1915 and 1916, and the Painlévy Ministry had proven itself either too weak or too cowardly to oppose the dictator, an aroused public sentiment brought again into power the "old tiger" Georges Clemenceau, and the nation was saved. Bolo Pasha

and Duval have now paid their penalty before a firing squad in the forest of Vincennes, and the trials of Humbert and even Caillaux are now scheduled in sequence, with promise of more interesting, even if still more humiliating disclosures.

Yet not even France could show such control of her affairs of state by agents of the German invaders as did Italy, for no country was so securely bound through the ownership of all her national industries. The *Banca Commerciale* behind which were the reins of power, mixed in all social and political affairs. It had its representatives in the Curia and in fact everywhere. Germanophile candidates for office received its powerful support, and means were at hand to make the road a thorny one for any candidate bold enough to oppose it. A political boss of great ability in the person of Signor Giolitti was the facile tool of the *Banca Commerciale* and, thanks to this support, he was absolute dictator in Italian politics. Thrice premier of the kingdom and his nominee always in control whenever he chose to take a vacation, Giolitti allowed no Cabinet to exist which he did not approve. Dr. Dillon is authority for the statement that Giolitti, without doubt upon the instigation of the *Banca Commerciale*, proposed to the Salandra Ministry the appointment, as Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, of an Austrian Jew named von Schlangel, a man without diplomatic experience and with no qualifications whatever for the post, though known to be favorable to the Teuton empires. Dillon says further:

Giolittism in Italy

"Giolitti was the legislature, the executive court, the commercial interests, to a great extent the army, and therefore the nation" (6, p. 132).

The chief nationalist organ of Italy, the *Idêa Nazionale* expressed this as follows:

"The Parliament is Giolitti; Giolitti is the Parliament; the binomial expression of our shame" (7).

National defense neglected

Giolitti left the nation's defenses in an antiquated condition and, according to Sydney Low, his War Minister was so strongly pro-German that he refused to make the army reforms which were demanded by Generals Cadorna and Porro (8).

To quote Dillon again:

"That in spite of this knowledge and the further conviction that an Austrian campaign against Italy would have found their nation without a single Ally to back her, King Victor's Government left the National Defenses in such a plight that they no longer deserved the name of "defenses," throws light upon some of the differences between the temperament of the allied people and that of the Teutons. But that Signor Giolitti, who was chiefly responsible for this neglect, should have afterwards invoked it in conversation with the king as a clinching argument against intervention, betrays the presence of an ethical twist in that statesman's mentality of a kind which was reasonably taken by the nation to disqualify him for the post of its principal trustee." (6, p. 117.)

Prince von Bülow's mission

To keep Italy from entering the war the Kaiser sent as his special envoy the most astute of German statesmen, Prince von Bülow, who was married to an Italian lady of high rank and who went in the full and apparently justified belief that Italy could be kept neutral. Says Dillon:

"It was the utter rottenness of the parliamentary system in Italy and the subjection of the legislature, the great

commercial and industrial interests, and the court to one man who looked upon international politics as mere manure for the soil he was cultivating that inspired Prince von Bülow with confidence in the success of his mission" (6, p. 129).

"Italy's active participation in the war was the work of the nation, not of the government. Had the decision been left to the parliament, to the acknowledged leaders of the people, to the Cabinet, or even to all three combined, it must have fallen out differently. . . . But the nation, wroth with the representatives who had misrepresented it, wrested from them for a moment the powers they had bestowed and reversed their decision" (6, p. vii.).

The people wrest control from the government

"It was the work of a moment. . . . Wrought to white heat by the strange behavior of its official spokesmen, the Italian people rose up in its millions, disowned them and imposed its own will on the Cabinet."

Well might the Teuton plotters in their discomfiture recall that saying of Bismarck that "we cannot foresee the cards held by Providence so clearly as to anticipate historical development through personal calculation."

Germany's methods of peaceful penetration where the Greater Empire is being extended, have been considered at such length because, with the conclusion of peace, the same menace to the world will be resumed unless drastic measures to forestall it are taken, both in the terms of peace and afterward. Says Hauser:

"If we refuse to investigate why our rivals have beaten us, and how we shall be able to withstand them, our sons will have died in vain on the Marne and the Yser. The economic struggle will be resumed to-morrow, and all the more bitterly because the German people will need to make good their losses. If we do not take care, the spider will

weave its web again; it will speedily take its revenge, and we shall wake up in ten years to find ourselves enslaved once more by the people whom we had conquered" (9, p. 14).

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X

HOW GERMANY MAKES WAR—ATROCITIES UNDER SYSTEM

"Sons of Germany, to arms; Forward. This is the hour of joy and glory.

"Wheresoever you turn, you enter; wheresoever you enter is Germany.

"Oh, horsemen of ours, spur, rear, sweep all away before you. Your will, spur of your horse, is like winged victory. That timid flesh you trample under foot is made to fatten the fields that shall be yours and your sons.

"Sons of Germany, to arms! The great hour is here!

"Life does not end; it passes and changes without cease. The life of the vanquished is absorbed by the victor; the life of the slain belongs to the slayer. See then how you can gather together upon the breast of your sacred Fatherland the life of all the world!

"Stoop not to effeminate pity for women and children. Often the son of the vanquished was afterward victor. What is victory worth if to-morrow comes revenge! What father would you be if you killed your enemy and left alive his son?

"Sons of Germany, to arms! Forward! Smite! Shatter! Overthrow! Pierce and lay waste! Burn!

"Kill! Kill! Kill!

"The road of glory lies open before us!"

Battle song found on German prisoners.

"*It is not true* that we trespassed in neutral Belgium . . . *It is not true* that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without the bitterest self-defense having made it necessary. . . . *It is not true* that our troops treated Louvain brutally. . . . *It is not true* that our warfare pays no respect to international laws. . .

"Have faith in us! Believe that we shall carry on this war to the end as a civilized nation, to whom the legacy of a Goethe, a Beethoven, and a Kant is just as sacred as its own hearths and homes.

"For this we pledge you our names and our honor."—*To the Civilized World, by Professors of Germany.*

THE manner in which Germany makes war may be studied: 1st, in her official manual (*Kriegsgebrauch im Landkriege*) written as a book of instructions for her officers in the field; and in the speeches of the Kaiser, as well as the statements made by various German military authorities; 2d, through examining the history of Germany's wars, particularly the Franco-Prussian War, the Boxer and Herrero rebellions, and the present world war; and 3d, by the replies of her leaders in answer to charges made against the conduct of German armies of invasion and occupation and during retreat.

Three methods of approaching the subject

By whichever method we choose to approach the subject, the picture is clear; and the conclusions reached are marred by no embarrassing uncertainties. These conclusions have, it must be said, nothing whatever in common with the findings of the ninety-three German intellectuals whose statement is cited under the heading of this chapter.

The literature of the instructions to army officers is considerable, but it is also terse and consistent; that of the historical record is vast and uniformly damning; while the German attempts to explain and mitigate are few and specious, though wonderfully illuminating.

To gain a clear impression concerning what is expected of officers in the field, it will be sufficient to cite in sequence instructions from the Supreme War Lord, from high officials of the German Great General Staff, from the official book of instructions; and, since traditions count so heavily in all armies, from the great German heroes of the past.

German conduct of war seen in official instructions

When the German expeditionary army was departing

for the Far East to join in putting down the Boxer Rebellion, the Kaiser issued to it these instructions, as printed in the *Weser Zeitung* before the censor had modified the wording of the address:

"Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as the Huns a thousand years ago under the leadership of Attila gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such wise in China that no Chinaman will ever even dare to look askance at a German."

By order of the Kaiser

Lieutenant-General Baron von Freytag-Lorenhoven, Deputy Chief of the German Great General Staff, in a work just issued says with apt pertinence: "Only under the absolute command of a war lord can an army achieve a really vigorous development. It cannot be emphasized too often what an immense debt the Prussian army—and therewith all Germany—owes to the Prussian kings" (1, p. 179).

The German troops in China certainly carried out to the letter these instructions of their War Lord and conducted themselves so outrageously that vigorous protests had to be lodged with their commander, Count von Waldersee, by the officers in command of the British, French, and American troops connected with the expedition. Herr von Bebel said in the *Reichstag:*

"An expedition of revenge so barbarous as this has never occurred in the last hundred years, and not often in history; at least nothing worse than this has happened in history, either done by the Huns, by the Vandals, by Genghis Khan, by Tamerlane, or even by Tilly when he sacked Magdeburg."

But we must continue to examine the war instructions. It is affirmed in the *Kriegsgebrauch im Landkriege:*

"But since the tendency of thought in the last century was dominated essentially by humanitarian considerations which not infrequently degenerated into sentimentality and flabby emotion, there have not been wanting attempts to influence the development of the usages of war in a way which was in fundamental contradiction with the nature of war and its object. Attempts of this kind will also not be wanting in the future, the more so as these agitations have found a kind of moral recognition in some provisions of the Geneva Convention and the Brussels and Hague conferences.

"By steeping himself in military history an officer will be able to guard himself against humanitarian notions; it will teach him that certain severities are indispensable to war, nay more, that the only true humanity very often lies in a ruthless application of them."

The book of instructions

To meet the case where inhabitants take up arms, the manual quotes Napoleon:

"Burn down a dozen places which are not willing to submit themselves. Of course not until you have first looted them; my soldiers must not be allowed to go away with their hands empty. Have three to six persons hanged in every village which has joined the revolt; pay no respect to the cassock." (2, pt. i., p. 10.)

In 1906 there was issued at Berlin the *Military Interpreter for Use in the Enemy's Country*, in which French translations of various placards were included, together with orders having blanks to be filled in and used in French-speaking

The German "Military Interpreter"

countries (France or Belgium). Two examples of these will suffice to indicate their character:

"On account of the destruction of the bridge at —— I order: The district shall pay a special contribution of ten million francs by way of amends. This is brought to the notice of the public who are informed that the method of assessment will be announced later and that the payment of the said sum will be enforced with the utmost severity. The village of —— will be destroyed immediately by fire, with the exception of certain buildings occupied for the use of the troops."

Another form is the following:

"I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the seventh of this month in which you bring to my notice the great difficulty which you expect to meet in levying the contributions. . . . I can but regret the explanations which you have thought proper to give me on this subject; the order in question which emanates from my Government is so clear and precise, and the instructions which I have received in the matter are so categorical that if the sum due by the town of —— is not paid, the town will be burned down without pity." (2, pt. i., pp. 10–11.)

Atrocities and frightfulness—the record

The above were among the forms actually used in Belgium and France, though they had been printed eight years before. The record of the atrocious acts committed during this war by German troops is so vast, and covers so extended an area, that our first duty would seem to be to make known the original sources of information, now accessible in large part at least in every library of considerable size (see references at end of this section).

First of all it should be stated that much of the

evidence concerning German atrocities is of an official character, and that, generalizing, it may be said to differ in bulk and in refinement of cruelty, rather than in degree or in kind, from that which characterized Germany's armies of invasion in 1870–1871 and in earlier campaigns.

System of atrocities planned by the Higher Command

With few and minor exceptions only, it may be added that all these atrocities, which partake of a common character though occurring on fronts as remote from each other as Belgium and Serbia and Poland and France, were carried out under explicit orders from the Higher Command, so as to accord with a unified system which was as efficient and thorough as it was diabolical and unrelenting.

This system of frightfulness underwent changes to accord with different conditions, such as those during invasion and later during occupation; and it also bore a definite relation to the success of the German campaigns at the time.

It happens that strikingly similar narratives of gripping realism have been supplied for the period of simultaneous invasion of France and Poland by the German hordes, and in each case the narrator is an American woman married to a European nobleman. The reader who has stood aghast at the simple and unquestionably truthful recital by Baroness Huard of horrors in France described in *My Home in the Field of Honor* (3), should take up *When the Prussians came to Poland* as told by Madame Turczynowicz (4). Madame Huard's beautiful château at Villers was occupied as the headquarters of General von Kluck in the advance upon Paris in 1914, and that of Countess Turczynowicz as head-

Experiences of two American women

quarters for a time of Field Marshal von Hindenburg during the German advance into Poland.

These two narratives by American women who have each returned to America and told their gripping stories by word of mouth to tens of thousands of their compatriots, make the best possible introduction to this phase of the subject. In both instances the invading occupants of the château or residence were of the German nobility, and the disgusting and wanton methods by which they befouled ladies' garments and bed linen, as well as the dishes in the pantry, do not admit of citation. One must read the original accounts which are rendered with so much reserve and delicacy that one is compelled to read partly between the lines. German efficiency classified all house furnishings, and vans carried away as loot everything of value for which transportation to Germany was available. The remaining portion, including grand pianos, was smashed up with axes.

The documentary evidence of German atrocities is now available from every front: Belgian, French, Serbian, Polish, Armenian, Roumanian, etc.; and men of the highest standing in the different governments concerned have collaborated both in the compilation and in vouching for the accuracy of the findings reached (see references at end). The elaborate Belgian reports have been compiled under the direction of Viscount Bryce, who was for many years the British Ambassador at Washington and who is well and favorably known in the United States.

Official documents

Yet even more valuable as evidence is that which the Germans themselves have unwittingly given us. German preparations for this war, complete as they

were, did not take adequate precautions respecting a possible defeat, such as they sustained at the Marne on their initial invasion of France. German soldiers had been bidden by Art. 75 of the Rules for Field Service of the German Army to keep a diary while on the march, doubtless because of its possible use in supplying information to the military authorities. These diaries taken from prisoners at the first Battle of the Marne, have been preserved in Paris, and together they constitute such a damning record of frightfulness that the German authorities have not dared even to seriously contradict it; but have, on the contrary, been obliged to admit that the evidence is genuine.

German atrocities from German evidence

Professor Joseph Bédier of the Collège de France, well and favorably known to Americans as a ripe scholar, and more intimately because of his visits to the United States, has translated, with much painstaking care, some forty, and later an additional series, of these German soldiers' diaries; and he has in addition reproduced for those who know German, numerous facsimile illustrations of the more vital portions of the diaries with all their smudges, erasures, and corrections (5, 6).

Samples of the soldiers' diaries

A few samples only of these incriminating German records must here suffice:

"August 26th. The pretty village of Gué d'Hossus in the Ardennes has been burnt, though innocent of any crime, it seemed to me. I was told a cyclist had fallen off his machine, and that in doing so his gun had gone off, so they fired in his direction. Thereupon the male inhabitants were simply consigned to the flames. It is to be hoped that such atrocities will not be repeated (Diary of a Saxon officer, unsigned, in the 178th Regt., XII Army Corps, I Saxon Corps)."

This same officer three days earlier had made an entry into a house at the village of Bouvignes near Dinant, which he thus describes:

"There was the body of the owner on the floor. Inside our men destroyed everything like Vandals. Every corner was searched. Outside in the country, the sight of the villagers who had been shot defies all description. The volley had almost decapitated some of them.

"Every house had been searched to the smallest corner and the inhabitants dragged from their hiding places. The men were shot; the women and children shut up in a convent, from which some shots were fired. Consequently, the convent is to be burnt." (5, p. 11.)

Private Philipp of Kamenz, Saxony, 1st Company, 1st Battalion of the same regiment as the last, describes apparently the same scene and thus corroborates the officer:

"In the evening, at 10 o'clock, the first battalion of the 178th Regt. went down to the village that had been burnt to the north of Dinant. A sad and beautiful sight, and one that made you shudder. At the entrance of the village there lay about fifty dead bodies strewn on the road. They had been shot for having fired on our troops from ambush. In the course of the night, many others were shot in the same way, so that we could count more than two hundred. The women and children, lamp in hand, were obliged to watch the horrible scene. We then ate our rice in the midst of the corpses because we had not tasted food since morning." (5, p. 12.)

The diary of Private Hassemer of the VIII Corps has an entry for September 3, 1914, which refers to the village of Sommepy on the Marne:

"Horrible Massacre. The village burnt to the ground. The French thrown into houses in flames, civilians and all burnt together."

On the first page of an unsigned notebook is this entry:

"Langeviller, August 22d. Village destroyed by the 11th battalion of the pioneers. Three women hanged on trees. The first dead I have seen."

On the last page of the same diary:

"In this way we destroyed eight houses with their inmates. In one of them two men with their wives and a girl of eighteen were bayonetted. The little one almost unnerved me, so innocent was her expression. But it was impossible to check the crowd, so excited were they, for in such moments you are no longer men, but wild beasts."

Diary of Private Paul Glöde, 9th battalion of the Pioneers, IX Corps:

"Aug. 12, 1914. . . . Mutilation of the wounded is the order of the day."

Diary of Private Moritz Grosse, 177th Infantry, in entry describing the sack of St. Vieth and Dinant:

"Throwing of bombs in the houses. In the evening military chorale: *Nun danket alle Gott* (The well-known church hymn, 'Now God be Praised')." (6, pp. 21, 37.)

The above are but samples illustrating what took place in hundreds of instances. An official list has been compiled and shows that in the province of Brabant 5833 houses were burned down, 15,024 were pillaged, 839 of the inhabitants were murdered, and

2110 taken as prisoners into Germany. In the province of Liége, 3553 houses were destroyed, and in the province of Namur, 5243; making in all 14,629. Of the 606 inhabitants massacred at Dinant in August a list has been published (7, vol. ii., p. 144).

It is entirely possible that in some instances shots were actually fired by civilians at the invading soldiers, though no clear proof has yet been furnished. It is, however, certain that the mayors of the towns in nearly all cases gave warning to the people that such action would bring terrible reprisals. There is in addition reliable testimony that in Liége the shooting was started by German soldiers going to the upper stories of a building which was entirely occupied by soldiers and thereupon shooting from the windows, which shooting served as a signal for the burning, murdering, and pillaging to begin (8, p. 208).

Franc-tireurs?

Contrary to The Hague Convention and to the war practices of all nations since the time of the Thirty Years' War, enormous war indemnities were exacted from the Belgian people throughout German occupation. In December, 1914, the Belgians were notified that one hundred million dollars would be exacted of them during the following year in addition to all of the regular taxes which they were paying with their industry interrupted, and with the invaders being fed and payment rendered in *bons de guerre*, payable after the war—"scraps of paper." To meet protests the Governor-General gave the promise that no further contribution would be levied and that requisitions upon the population for the feeding of troops would thereafter be paid for in money. It is needless to say, neither promise has been kept. The following year another one hundred million dollars was exacted, and this was later

Exaction of indemnities

increased to one hundred and twenty million dollars a year.

The clearest evidence that the atrocities took place by order, and not that of the immediate commanders only but of the High Command in Berlin, is supplied both by the grouping into periods of the dates when atrocities were chiefly perpetrated, and by the localization of the devastated villages within definite zones which had a significant arrangement.

Atrocities by order

Belgium was invaded by German troops early on the morning of August 4th; but as all speed was being made to reach the forts, atrocities did not begin until the 5th. The massacres on the frontier and before the forts of Embourg, Boncelles, Chaudfontaine, and Fléron, took place between the 5th and the 8th of the month.

After August 8th, there ensued a week of apparent calm, during which the German Government having shown of what it was capable when "lustfully roving," made a fresh proposal to the Belgian Government in which it recognized that the Belgian army had "upheld the honor of its arms in the most brilliant fashion by a heroic resistance to greatly superior forces," and the German Government "begged his Majesty the King and the Belgian Government to avert from Belgium the *horrors of war!*" Upon receiving Belgium's second refusal, the German Government informed the Belgian Government through diplomatic channels, "that the war would now assume a cruel character" (*einen grausamen Charakter*). In consequence, on the 14th pillage, incendiarism, and massacre began again, and, to quote the language of

First massacres a warning to secure compliant submission to invasion

Gustave Somville, "for ten days the beast unchained raged through all the invaded provinces" (8, p. 13).

As regards the distribution of the places ravaged by the German soldiery in Belgium, a deep underlying purpose is revealed so soon as these localities are plotted upon the map. Says Irvin S. Cobb:

"But I was an eye-witness to crimes which, measured by the standards of humanity and civilization, impressed me as worse than any individual excess, any individual outrage, could ever have been or can ever be; because these crimes indubitably were instigated on a wholesale basis by order of officers of rank, and must have been carried out under their personal supervision, direction, and approval. Briefly what I saw was this: I saw wide areas of Belgium and France in which not a penny's worth of wanton destruction had been permitted to occur, in which the ripe pears hung untouched upon the garden walls; and I saw other wide areas where scarcely one stone had been left to stand upon another; where the fields were ravaged; where the male villagers had been shot in squads; where the miserable survivors had been left to die in holes, like wild beasts.

Frightfulness so distributed as to warn everyone

"Taking the physical evidence offered before our own eyes, and buttressing it with the statements made to us, not only by natives, but by German soldiers and German officers, we could reach but one conclusion, which was that here, in such and such a place, those in command had said to the troops: 'Spare this town and these people.' And there they had said: 'Waste this town and shoot these people.' And here the troops had indiscriminately spared and there they had indiscriminately wasted, in exact accordance with the word of their superiors." (9, p. 32.)

The atrocities connected with the invasion of Belgium had had for their primary object the terrorizing

of the population, so that no uprising could occur when every soldier that could be spared was taking part in the initial onsets at the Marne and along the right flank of the German army in Northern France. The atrocities occurred within nearly parallel belts distributed over the country so that some of them came near enough home to all of the inhabitants, even though not all were sacrificed.

Three main phases of Belgian martyrdom

The Battle of Ypres ended, the onset was over, and the campaign now assumed for the first time the more stabilized condition of trench warfare; whereupon the first phase of Belgium's martyrdom came likewise to an end. For Germany, the Belgian problem was now primarily one of administration—what Gardiner has called the period of semi-peaceful occupation (10, p. 40).

Gardiner thinks that at this time Germany held the belief that she could win the war, and that she therefore directed her administration of Belgium on the basis of later annexation.

The period of systematic spoliation of Belgium was inaugurated in June, 1916; and Gardiner has seen in this an evidence that the German leaders now for the first time abandoned the hope of annexation of Belgium; largely as a consequence of the sudden change in the military situation—the great drive of Brussiloff on the Eastern Front and the seizure of the initiative on the Western Front with the Franco-British push on the Somme. This third phase of German atrocity, if less bloody than the first, has been far more terrible in its permanent consequences; for it has aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the entire commercial structure of Bel-

The period of Belgian spoliation

gium and the social annihilation of her people. Says Brand Whitlock, the American Minister to Belgium:

"They have dealt a mortal blow to any prospect they may ever have had of being tolerated by the population of Flanders; in tearing away from nearly every humble home in the land a husband and a father or a son and brother, they have lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out; they have brought home into every heart in the land, in a way that will impress its horror indelibly on the memory of three generations, a realization of what German methods mean—not as with the early atrocities. . . . but by one of those deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race, a deed coldly planned, studiously matured, and deliberately and systematically executed, a deed so cruel that German soldiers are said to have wept in its execution, and so monstrous that even German officers are now said to be ashamed." (11, p. 7.)

General von Bissing's plans

Governor-General von Bissing in an interview given to Frederick C. Walcott of the Belgian Relief Commission, has shed a flood of light upon the plans of the German Government during this third phase of German occupation of Belgium. Says Walcott:

"I said to him: 'Governor, what are you going to do if England and France stop giving these people money to purchase food?' He said: 'We have got that all worked out and have had it worked out for weeks, because we have expected this system to break down at any time.' He went on to say, 'starvation will grip these people in thirty to sixty days. Starvation is a compelling force, and we would use that force to compel the Belgian workingmen, many of them very skilled, to go into Germany to replace the Germans, so that they could go to the front and fight against the English and the French. As fast as our railway

transportation could carry them, we would transport thousands of others that would be fit for agricultural work, across Europe down into southeastern Europe, into Mesopotamia, where we have huge, splendid irrigation works. All that land needs is water and it will blossom like the rose. The weak remaining, the old and the young, we would concentrate opposite the firing line, and put firing squads back of them, and force them through that line, so that the English and French could take care of their own people.'" (2, pt. i., p. 55.)

Can it be believed that when von Hindenburg came into power, this Governor-General received a reprimand for having been too lenient in his treatment of the Belgian people under his charge?

The massacre of the Mazurian Lakes

The defeat of the Marne, as the German military leaders knew full well, spelled ruin to their well-laid plans to crush France in the onset, plans which General von Bernhardi had informed the German people in repeated editions of his *Germany and the Next War* required an immediate success. The German people were told of a "strategic retreat," the first of several such retreats concerning which the world was to be advised. At this trying moment while smarting under defeat, came the, to them, consoling news of Hindenburg's first victory in the Battle of Tannenberg, where two entire army corps of Russians were entrapped among the Mazurian Lakes and hills of East Prussia and almost completely destroyed. Though they surrendered, almost the entire eighty thousand were by machine gun fire fiendishly forced into the lakes and swamps and either drowned or otherwise destroyed. This is one of the most revolting episodes in all history and would be hard to parallel. Here is one of the protests sent

to United States Ambassador Gerard by German soldiers who were eye-witnesses to the slaughter:

"It was frightful, heart-rending, as these masses of human beings were driven to destruction. Above the terrible thunder of the cannon could be heard the heart-rending cry of the Russians: 'O Prussians! O Prussians!' —but there was no mercy. Our captain had ordered: 'The whole lot must die; so rapid fire!' As I have heard, five men and one officer on our side went mad from those heart-rending cries. But most of my comrades and the officers joked as the unarmed and helpless Russians shrieked for mercy while they were being suffocated in the swamps and shot down. The order was: 'Close up and at it harder!' For days afterward those heart-rending yells followed me and I dare not think of them or I shall go mad. There is no God, there is no morality, and no ethics any more. There are no human beings any more, but only beasts. Down with militarism.

"This was the experience of a Prussian soldier at present wounded, Berlin, Oct. 22, 1914.

"If you are a truth-loving man please receive these lines from a common Prussian soldier." (2, pt. i., p. 19.)

There is here no space to tell of the barbarities which were carried out by the Germans upon other than these two fronts, though they differed in no essential respect. It may even be doubted if any perpetrated by German troops in Belgium quite equaled the horrors of the city of Kalish upon the Polish frontier when it was invaded in the first days of August, 1914, and where the German commander without any pretended excuse in resistance offered, bombarded for three days with modern artillery a peaceful town of fifty thousand inhabitants. Belgium's case came before the world

Monotonous uniformity of the atrocities on all fronts

first because of the bearing of its preliminary diplomatic exchanges upon the issues of the war, and because its horrors could not be concealed.

The simultaneous ravishments of Serbia and Poland were probably on the whole even more terrible, and the retarded horrors of Armenia, Roumania, Ukraine, and the other Russian provinces, like the devastation wrought during the Hindenburg retreat in Picardy in the early spring of 1916, arrived in a world that had already "supped full of horrors," and was correspondingly hardened to them.

Diabolical devices for destruction

There are phases of these atrocious acts so revolting that they cannot even be told, and for a time they were actually kept from the French people who had members of their families within the devastated areas, lest they should go mad. Human ingenuity seemed to have outdone itself in finding diabolical devices of destruction. Miss Katherine Olmstead, a Red Cross nurse lately returned from Roumania, has related how in villages of that unhappy country which has been forced to a "peace" with Germany, few fighting men were left, but only the children and a few young women who were making the almost hopeless attempt to keep the starving children alive in improvised orphanages. Here, in the form of shining balls, pencils, and toys of various descriptions, bombs were systematically given out to the children by German agents, and in handling them the children were either blown up or horribly mutilated. These cases came to the hospitals in numbers on definite days, indicating that an agent had been through the village. As reported by the children, the agent was usually a woman. Similar devices for mutilation have been reported from the devastated area of Picardy.

As in the case of the Armenian atrocities, carried out with German approval, the object in destroying old and young, women and children alike, may reasonably be interpreted to indicate a desire to avoid the necessity of incorporating into the German empire new crown-lands with hostile populations, such as those of Posen, Schleswig-Holstein, and Alsace-Lorraine.

Says a recent witness from the devastated region of France:

"Children of seven have seen more of horror in three years than most old men have read about in a lifetime. . . . They have been in villages where the dead lay in piles and not even the women were spared. They have been present while indecencies were worked upon their mothers. They have seen men hanged, shot, bayoneted, and flung to roast in burning houses. The pictures of all these things hang in their eyes. . . .

The case of the children

"Night is the troublesome time. The children hide under the beds with terror. The nurses have to go the rounds continually. If the children would only cry, they would give warning. But, instead, they creep silently out beneath the sheets and crouch against the floor like dumb animals. Dumb animals! That is what they are when first they are brought in. . . . They have been fished out of caves, ruined dugouts, broken houses. They are as full of skin-diseases as the beggar who sat outside Dives' gate, only they have had no dog to lick their sores. They have lived on offal so long that they have the faces of the extremely aged. And their hatred! Directly you utter the word 'boches' all the little nightgowned figures sit up in their cots and curse. When they have done cursing, of their own accord, they sing the Marseillaise." (12, p. 193.)

The wholesale murders which occurred in Armenia when Germany exercised all save nominal authority

over Turkey, were on so vast a scale that the earlier massacres under Abdul Hamid sink into insignificance. The best estimates place the victims of the late massacres at near one million souls, with some additional tens of thousands of young girls forced into the harems and compelled to accept Islam as their religion, as well as other tens of thousands of orphans of tender age who were doubtless to be raised as janizaries to swell the Moslem armies of the future.

Armenian annihilation

Of these massacres and atrocities we have the testimony of a German eye-witness, Dr. Martin Niepage, Higher Grade Teacher in the German Technical School at Aleppo.

"'*Ta'alim el Aleman*' (the teaching of the Germans) is the simple Turk's explanation to everyone who asks him about the originators of these measures. . . .

"Mohammedans, too, of more sensitive feelings—Turks and Arabs alike—shake their heads in disapproval and do not conceal their tears when they see a convoy of exiles marching through the city, and Turkish soldiers using cudgels upon women in advanced pregnancy and upon dying people who can no longer drag themselves along. They cannot believe that their government has ordered these atrocities and they hold the Germans responsible for all such outrages, Germany being considered during the war as Turkey's schoolmaster in everything. Even the mullahs in the mosques say that it was not the Sublime Porte but the German officers who ordered the ill treatment and destruction of the Armenians. . . .

"The object of the deportations is the destruction of the whole Armenian nation. . . .

"Only just before I left Aleppo last May (1916) the crowds of exiles encamped at Ras-el-Ain on the Badgad Railway, estimated at twenty thousand women and children, were slaughtered to the last one." (13.)

Can a nation which befouls or poisons wells in enemy country, murders helpless prisoners, bombs hospitals, and sinks hospital and relief ships, and turns over the women of a captured district to the pleasure of its soldiery; can such a nation be regenerated and made fit for the society of the civilized world, even through the chastening of a crushing military defeat? The education of generations is not destroyed by a single disillusionment, however thorough and salutary it may be.

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XI

GERMAN CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

"The most potent influence, however, in *Kultur-politik* has been the men who, in constantly increasing numbers, have come to occupy positions in our universities, colleges, and private schools. Being by virtue of their profession, less exposed to assimilative influences, they form the outposts of Germanism in the United States. . . .

"It is for the descendants of those Germans who fought under Herkimer at Oriskany; of those who followed Mühlenberg; of those who over the trenches of Yorktown heard the opposing commands given in their native tongue, and finally saw the garrison march out to the tune of German music; of those who fought under Schurz and Sigel in the Civil War; to rebuke these prophets of disunion and to turn the aspirations of their countrymen in the direction of true American nationalism."—GUSTAVUS OHLINGER in *Their True Faith and Allegiance.*

THE basis of all earlier hostile movements directed by Germany against the United States, may be said to have been the Monroe Doctrine, originally framed to stand in the way of encroachments on this continent by the Holy Alliance, a bulwark of autocracy in Europe. This Alliance had been arranged by the King of Prussia with the Emperor of Austria and the Czar of Russia, with a view mainly to check the growth of republican tendencies throughout the world (1).

The Monroe Doctrine erected as a barrier to autocrats

President Monroe's policies for safeguarding the Western Hemisphere from encroachments by this league of autocrats was taken on information furnished

by Lord Canning, the British Prime Minister at the time, and transmitted to Mr. Rush, our minister at the British capital. Great Britain thus stood sponsor at the birth of the doctrine and has ever been the bulwark of its defense. Our own Admiral Mahan, the greatest of authorities upon sea power, wrote:

Britain sponsored the doctrine at its birth

"What, at the moment when the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed, insured beyond peradventure that immunity from foreign oppression of the Spanish-American colonies in their struggle for independence? The command of the sea by Great Britain backed by the feeble navy, but imposing strategic position of the United States."

It has been, quite naturally, Prussia, and later Prussianized Germany, that have resented the adoption of this doctrine by the United States as a definite national policy; and on more than one occasion Germany has allowed it to be understood that at the proper time she should challenge its efficiency by putting it to the test of a military decision. Occasions have arisen when she might have made good her threat save only that Great Britain with the powerful British navy has stood in her way. Comparatively few Americans realize the debt they owe to this bulwark of their defense in the benevolent protection of the British Empire.

A source of serious friction between Germany and America arose in the eighties of the last century over questions of sovereignty in the Samoan Islands, and on March 16, 1889, the squadrons of the two countries were facing each other in the open roadstead of Apia, Samoa, ready for action, when a typhoon caught both and

A tropical hurricane prevents war

dashed them to destruction upon the coral reefs—a dramatic incident which led both to the Treaty of Berlin and to the foundation of the new American navy. This providential intervention of the hurricane has been rendered memorable by Robert Louis Stevenson in a somewhat remarkable summary of the event entitled *A Footnote to History*.

Germany's desire for strategic positions in the Caribbean

When America had begun to evince an interest in the construction of an American isthmian canal, Germany simultaneously became interested in the strategic positions within the American Mediterranean. The Hamburg-American Steamship Company by methods of peaceful penetration acquired properties and established a port of call in the important harbor of St. Thomas, properties now taken over by the United States as a war measure; and rumors had been frequent that Germany had been negotiating with Denmark for the purchase of this and neighboring Danish islands, which are now at last in American possession. Germany's warships have made elaborate surveys of strategic harbors in Hayti and San Domingo.

"The mailed fist" at Port au Prince

When in 1897 the police authorities of Port au Prince had arrested a German named Luders, Germany sent warships, bombarded the city, and compelled apologies accompanied by the immediate payment of an indemnity of twenty thousand dollars. Count Schwerin, the German Chargé, admitted that the Haytian authorities were legally in the right in arresting Luders, since he had attacked the police; nevertheless on direct orders from Berlin, the Chargé took the peculiarly arrogant German ground that no German of standing should ever be arrested by any ordinary person. In humiliation

Hayti was forced to submit, and though Germany did not at the time see fit to offer direct challenge to the Monroe Doctrine through taking possession of Haytian territory, there is little reason to doubt that she would have done so if it would not have involved a clash with the British fleet.

In the following year, when the intolerable conditions in Cuba had forced the United States into a war with Spain, Germany did her utmost to bring about a coalition of European Powers for intervention on behalf of Spain; but in this she was foiled by the firm stand taken by the British Government, an incident among many which explains the intensity of German hatred of England. To an Englishman who later reported the conversation to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, the Kaiser said at this time: "If I had had a larger fleet, I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck" (2).

German hostility during Spanish-American War

When Dewey had destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, he established and proclaimed a blockade, assigning anchorages for the fleets of foreign powers in accordance with international law. Admiral von Diedrichs commanding a German squadron of war vessels somewhat stronger than the fleet of Admiral Dewey, in defiance of all recognized conventions, thereupon refused to observe the regulations which had been laid down. Friction reached a dangerous stage when one of the German cruisers actually landed supplies for the Spanish garrison. This might even be regarded as constituting an act of war, and it is reported that Dewey sent what was practically an ultimatum to the German Admiral. Thereupon von Diedrichs ap-

British support of Dewey at Manila

proached Captain (since the late Admiral) Chichester, in command of the British squadron, and inquired what his attitude would be in case of a clash between the German and American squadrons. The prompt reply was: "That is an affair known only to Admiral Dewey and myself." Later, when military operations were begun against the city of Manila and Dewey had put his squadron in position opposite the forts, Admiral von Diedrichs moved the German squadron into position to attack the American fleet. The British squadron commander thereupon moved his ships into position between the German and American squadrons. Admiral von Diedrichs needed no further explanation as to what kind of support had been promised to the American Admiral, and shortly thereafter sailed away (3, p. 115, *also* 4).

The Venezuelan difficulty

In May, 1901, Mr. John Hay, the United States Secretary of State, received information that German warships had been inspecting, probably with a view to occupation as a naval base, the Santa Margherita Islands which lie off the Venezuelan coast and are among the most valuable strategic positions within the Caribbean. It was in the following year that Germany sent warships to collect the long outstanding indebtedness of Venezuela, and she was at first able to induce Great Britain and Italy, who were similarly affected, to coöperate with her. Upon representations made by the United States Department of State, England and Italy consented to have the outstanding difficulties adjusted by arbitration, it having been intimated to them that any occupation of Venezuelan territory would be regarded as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Germany declaring that her occupation of Venezuelan territory would be

"temporary" only, proceeded to bombard the coast and sink Venezuelan ships; but she stopped just short of occupation. President Roosevelt was compelled to serve what was in effect an ultimatum upon Germany, and with very bad grace she then consented that the matter should be adjusted by The Hague Conference (2, p. 284).

German colonization plans in South America

A growing menace to the Monroe Doctrine had come about through the attempts by Germany to establish colonies within the rich republics of temperate South America, especially Argentine, Southern Brazil, and Chili. These German colonies are truly states within states, since the Germans have maintained social and industrial relationships wholly apart from the loyal Argentine and Brazilian people, and they have been closely bound to the Fatherland, not only by maintaining their own speech, churches, schools, and newspapers, but by heavily subsidized German steamship lines running to Hamburg and Bremen. Through these methods of peaceful penetration such control has been acquired of the great banking and industrial institutions, as has given alarm to the governments of these republics, an alarm which has now been more than justified by the events of the war.

As long ago as 1900 Professor Reinsch, now the American Minister at Pekin, wrote:

A challenge to the Monroe Doctrine

"Should Germany, therefore, on account of complications in South America, find herself called upon to defend the rights of her colonists, she would undoubtedly take the necessary steps, even though this might interfere with the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States." (5, p. 284.)

Gardiner gives the numbers of Germans now in South American countries as follows: Brazil, 400,000; Argentine, 60,000; Chili, 15,000; Uruguay, 5,000; Venezuela, 5,000; and Paraguay, 3,000 (3, p. 122). The political tract issued by the Pan-German Union in 1911, believed to have been officially inspired, says of these South American colonies:

"Germany will take under her protection the republics of Argentina, Chili, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the southern third of Bolivia . . . and also that part of southern Brazil in which German culture prevails. . . . Chili and Argentine will preserve their language and their autonomy, but we shall require that German be taught in the schools as a second language. Southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay are countries of German culture and there German will be the national tongue." (3, p. 123.)

It was in Argentine that the German Chargé d'Affaires, Count Luxburg, was recently discovered to have been secretly advising his government concerning the times of sailing of Argentine vessels and recommending that they be "sunk without trace," notwithstanding the fact that the two governments were still on friendly relations.

"Spurlos versenkt"

Had the world war not intervened when it did, the German challenge to the Monroe Doctrine in these republics must sooner or later have resulted in war with the United States; and if a pacifist American Government should have chosen to ignore the peril to its life, it must have meant merely a postponement of the issue with greatly increased hazards.

Of all the German conspiracies which have been directed against America, the most serious has been that insidious *Kultur* movement which has been quietly

conducted through the medium of the continued use of the German language. European nations generally have recognized the truth that under normal conditions to continue the use of a language as the habitual speech of the people is to remain bound to the mother nation where that language prevails. This is true not of German only but of every language as well, and each of the larger Balkan states has had its own peculiar trouble over *Kultur* movements. One of the conditions of peace concluded between Serbia and Bulgaria at the end of the second Balkan War was that no Bulgarian *Kultur* propaganda was thereafter to be permitted in Serbia.

The Kultur movement

As has been already pointed out, the German *Kultur* movement in the United States has been conducted chiefly through the German language parochial schools, the German departments in American colleges and universities, the German language newspapers modeled upon Bismarck's "reptile press," and the many German-American societies in which the language and atmosphere have been those of the Fatherland. Mention should be made also of the German bookstores, of which the great Germania in Milwaukee has exercised a powerful influence.

After Count von Bülow's tour as Imperial Chancellor, it became a custom in Germany to speak of the "lost" Germans of the Fatherland who must be redeemed, and propaganda efforts were redoubled to prevent the assimilation of German emigrants in the United States, by far the largest body represented in Germania Irredenta.

Germania Irredenta

An enthusiastic and loyal American teacher of the German language, Professor John F. Coar, who had been wholly misled as to the sinister intentions of the

German Government, visited Germany during the years 1911 and 1912 and lectured in many German cities as the representative of the *Germanistische Gesellschaft*. To his amazement he was informed by the head of the society for *Deutschtum im Ausland* that the *Kultur* movement in America had for more than ten years been directed each year by more than forty secret agents who had been commissioned to work mainly for two distinct purposes. These purposes were: (1) The introduction of the German language into the public schools, whenever possible as a school language, and to increase the number and effectiveness of the German language parochial schools; and (2) consolidation of the German-American vote to the end that it might hold the balance of power and bring about at least benevolent neutrality in favor of the Fatherland in the coming war. Perhaps even more significant than the imparting to him of this secret information upon the supposition that he was "safe," is the fact that when Professor Coar allowed this menace to his country to become known in America—a menace which had been confirmed to him in Berlin by two of the returned spies—he was in effect boycotted by one American-German department after another, prevented from obtaining a reputable American position, so that he finally gave up the fight and became connected with the University of Alberta, Canada (6).

The plot revealed

German emigrants in the United States have been encouraged to keep together and found communities and districts within which they can constitute the entire population. More than elsewhere this has been true of the State of Wisconsin, where in more than one community I have

A pioneer in the work of Americanization

found it necessary to speak the German language in order to be understood at all.

It was in Wisconsin that an incident occurred which will one day be looked back upon as a starting point of a great movement for the Americanization of the nation, if this nation is to remain true to the ideals and to the steps taken by the Fathers "in order to form a more perfect union."

Ignorance of English language a menace

Taking advantage of the ignorance of the English language among the German farmers in Jefferson County, Wisconsin, Chicago swindlers masquerading as government census takers were able to rob them of eight thousand dollars, through securing their signatures to promissory notes represented to be census forms to be filled out. William Dempster Hoard, afterwards governor of the State, was, shortly subsequent to the swindle, appointed the Government Census Agent for this section, and in carrying out his work encountered such difficulties as impressed upon him the menace to our liberties harbored by this evil of foreignism.

The Bennett Law

Almost his first act, after he had been elected governor, was to have a bill drawn, since famous as the Bennett Bill, which aimed to abolish the foreign-language school. The opposition to this movement in a state so largely populated by people of foreign extraction, shook the commonwealth to its foundation. The governor was promptly warned by his party leaders that if he persisted in his efforts he would wreck both his party and his own political career. He remained firm and was able to secure the enactment of the Bennett Law, whereupon a delegation of German-Lutheran pastors waited upon him and demanded that he should not

enforce the law, and upon his refusal to accept their domination, no stone was left unturned to accomplish his defeat at the next election. In this they were successful, and the Bennett Law, enacted now twenty-five years ago, was repealed after remaining in force for only two years (7, p. 180).

The war in which we are now engaged has proven the wisdom of this stanch patriot and pioneer of Americanization, and the name of William Dempster Hoard should be held in reverence as that of a man who was ready to sacrifice personal preferment to the welfare of his country.

Baron von Holleben, the German Ambassador to the United States at the time of the Venezuelan difficulty, was particularly active in conspiracies against the United States. In presenting German colors to the Chicago German Veterans and Soldier Societies he said:

German war veterans in America

"Greetings from the German Emperor! That is the cry with which I come before you. His Majesty, my most gracious master, has ordered me to hand to you to-day the colour which has been desired by you so strongly and for so long. . . . This colour is to be the symbol of German faithfulness, German manliness, and German military honour. His Majesty asks you to accept the colour as *a token of that unity which should prevail among all German soldiers, to act also abroad in accordance with the sentiments of German loyalty and German sense of duty, and to take for your maxim, the word of that great German, Bismarck, 'We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world,'* Now let the colour flutter in the wind. In this moment of enthusiasm, let us all sound the cry that is now on the lips of every German soldier. 'His Majesty, German Emperor, William II., Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!' " (8, p. 227, *also* 9.)

Following the signal failure of the Venezuela threat during President Roosevelt's administration, Baron von Holleben sought to stir up the people of the United States against England by stating that Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, had led the attempted coalition against the United States at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. This shallow deception, was based upon the fact that Sir Julian had been the dean of the diplomatic corps, and as such it had been his duty to transmit the message to the President. This deception proved a fiasco, for the American people already knew well at the time the part England had played on their behalf both at the beginning and during the war. The fact that Sir Julian had since died and no reply could be offered, made the attempt at deception particularly obnoxious, and when its failure had become apparent, Holleben was at once recalled (2, p. 293).

Baron von Holleben's deception

Quite different tactics, intended now to produce good feeling toward Germany, were undertaken. The Kaiser presented to the American nation the statue of Frederick the Great, great at least as a military leader, who, it was put forward, had been a great admirer of General Washington, and, contrary to the facts of history, was claimed also to have sent a sword to Washington with the message: "To the greatest general from the oldest general." This statue proved to be a white elephant, since it could not well be refused; and it was finally disposed of by setting it up in front of the war college on the Potomac outside the monumental portion of the city.

The Kaiser's gift of statue of Frederick the Great

Arrangements were carried out for an exchange of professors between the American and German univer-

sities. In Berlin the American exchange professors were shown such attentions that some of them have never since succeeded in orienting themselves correctly in reference to German-American relationship. The Kaiser himself at first attended their lectures delivered at the University of Berlin, though in 1913 Prince August Wilhelm represented him. It has been reported of the Kaiser that when America failed to respond to the intensive German propaganda of 1914–15, he exclaimed in vexation: "And to think that I have sat through all those lectures."

Exchange professors

As has already been pointed out, the German alliances of the various states of the Union were federated in the National German-American Alliance, an organization which, as the result of an investigation by a special committee of inquiry of the United States Senate, has been shown to have fostered disloyalty and been broken up. There have, however, been many other societies formed to promote *Deutschtum* in America. Of the 268 chapters of the Pan-German Union, two have been located in the United States; one of them at New York and one at San Francisco (10, p. 5). The aims of this League are officially stated to be, "to support and foster German national aspirations in all countries," and it "acknowledges as fellow-countrymen all who are of German descent and who loyally hold to the German language and German civilization. . . . There is but one goal: the creation of a common consciousness among Germans everywhere in the world." (10, p. 6.)

Organized Germanism in America

There was formed also a German American Teachers' Alliance which has fulfilled

"the first duty of a German in a foreign land, which is that he shall use the German language and live the German manner. . . . Is it not the duty of Germans to prevent every emigrant from being lost to the German nation, to see that all those who emigrate have the firm intent not only to spread German civilization, but to strengthen it where it already exists? Every German emigrant, no matter from what class, high or low, should be made conscious of this: that he is a missionary in the widest sense of the word." (10.)

German-American Teachers' Alliance

Those who have any doubt concerning the real purpose and the actual effect of the German-American press, should read the declaration of the *Alldeutscher Blätter*, the official organ of the Pan-German Union:

The German press and pulpit in America

"It is urgently necessary," said this organ in 1910, "to adopt some measures to prevent the further decline of the German press in America, in order that the German nation may suffer no further harm."

This applies especially to the small papers, for

"they more than any others keep the German spirit alive. With the extinction of every one [each one?—W. H. H.] of them an entire and definite group of people is lost forever to Germanism." (10.)

The same organ says of the German churches and church schools:

"The German-American societies and the churches and church schools in which German is taught or used work to the same end; and we may rejoice to know that the Catholic as well as the Evangelical clergy . . . are engaged in noble emulation to preserve the German language and

German sentiments in the hearts of their congregations." (10, p. 8.)

The organ of the Society for Germanism in Foreign Countries confirms the above expressed opinion of the German school in the following language: "The most effective means for perfecting German nationality abroad is the school. German schools abroad should not only preserve German nationality among the children of German emigrants, but should impart German *Kultur* to the children of other nationalities also." Another writer adds touchingly of the German language school: "Within its sacred walls the strange land is transformed for children, teachers, and parents into the German Fatherland" (10, p. 10).

The Fatherland in America

Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor of German at the University of Illinois, in an address delivered in Munich in 1904 declared that the German language and German culture are the best means of preserving German nationality, and that "*the possession of them alone is sufficient to prevent the process of Americanization*" (10, p. 12).

German-American professor opposes Americanization

Only when the war had broken upon us did the full fruition of German conspiracies in America become apparent. Until the Dernberg campaign of propaganda had brought its disappointment, Germany had waited in the hope of active support from the entire German-American element of the population. When this hope had vanished, and following not only all precedents but its right and duty, America took contracts for munitions of war to be shipped

German Embassy becomes revealed as headquarters of conspiracies

abroad, the Imperial German Embassy at Washington and every German consular office in the United States became revealed as parts of one interlocking military machine organized to accomplish incendiary and other destruction of the plants engaged in the production of war materials, as well as of the steamships which were used to transport such materials abroad.

Destruction of lives and property directed from German Embassy

The two attachés of the Imperial German Embassy, Captain Boy-Ed and Captain von Papen, from their branch office in New York City, directed as the Ambassador's lieutenants all this vast work of murder and destruction, which opened January 18, 1915, with the dynamiting of the plant of the Roebling Chain Company at Trenton, N. J., an explosion which with the resulting fire caused a loss of $1,500,000. From that time until February, 1917, when Count von Bernstorff was handed his passports, and when the outrages fell off notably in number, no less than sixty-eight great plants had been destroyed with a loss of 146 lives and 153 persons injured. No less than thirty-two large vessels and thirty-seven lighters carrying munitions had taken fire either at their docks or at sea. The money loss represented by this riot of destruction has never been computed, and perhaps never can be; but the two largest explosions, those of Black Tom and the Canadian Car and Foundry Company at Kingston, N. J., amounted to $25,000,000 and $16,000,000 respectively. The fire at the Bethlehem Steel Company's plant on November 9, 1915, destroyed eight hundred big guns and caused a loss of $2,000,000. Several other big fires entailed losses of from one to three millions of dollars each. (11.)

It is hardly too much to say that the course of the

war might have been different, and with it the whole future of the United States, but for the remarkable achievements of the *Providence Journal* in deciphering the German codes, fathoming the German plots, and placing all this knowledge at once in the hands of the government authorities. Says the conservative *Boston Transcript:*

The detective work of the "Providence Journal"

"The *Providence Journal* is entitled to the thanks of the country for the remarkable success of the inquiries into the German spy system and the German propaganda in this country which it has conducted. The *Journal's* discoveries have been the basis for about three quarters—possibly a larger proportion than that—of the government's proceedings against the German plotters: the scalps of Boy-Ed and von Papen hang at its tepee door; and it was upon the *Journal's* information that most of the judicial proceedings now pending were taken. . . . It has performed a work that will be remembered in the history of the war." (10.)

The undoubtedly great achievements of the staff of the *Providence Journal*, directed by that genius of the science of criminology, John R. Rathom, surpass in compelling interest the best efforts of writers of fiction. Some of the most interesting episodes, in particular how Mr. Rathom succeeded in placing his men in confidential positions within the Imperial German Embassy at Washington and at the Hamburg-American Steamship Company's offices in New York City, have been told in Mr. Rathom's public addresses; but the full story, the publication of which was begun in *The World's Work* of February, 1918, was stopped after the first number had appeared.

German spies spied upon

The *Journal's* first successes were due to the high-power wireless plants operated by it, which took off thousands of messages received and sent by the Sayville Wireless Station, through studying which the *Journal* succeeded in deciphering the German code.

The government leniency

Much more would have been accomplished had the government shown a greater willingness to act upon the information supplied by Mr. Rathom. Says he:

"The sympathetic and kindly attitude of those in authority who prefer not to intern spies, who prefer not to shoot traitors, is rapidly creating a condition, which, if permitted to continue, will mean the maintenance in the very heart of our civil and commercial life of a danger that will destroy half of our war value to ourselves and the Allies. Can any sane man believe that the German language daily press of the United States is any less traitorous at heart to-day than it was the day before war was declared? Why are dozens of treasonable sheets of this kind, owned and run by men who are known to the government to be traitors, permitted to continue publication?"

Speaking of the Secret Service of the United States and of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, Mr. Rathom says that the sum paid annually to these vitally important bureaus of the government "is actually less than the amount of money paid by Ambassador von Bernstorff per month for German secret service operations in the city of New York alone. The financial loss entailed by the Baltimore fire was probably four times the entire annual cost of both of these bureaus."

German conspiracies have been aimed not alone at American munition plants and freighters, but have been

intended also to mislead the people of the United States into the belief that it was their duty upon moral grounds to put a stop to a business which was described as a "traffic in human lives" and which was "all that prevented an early peace," the nature of such a "German peace" being at the time less clearly understood than it is to-day, now that Russia and Roumania writhe under the heel of the Hun.

The German-American Alliance in various disguises

To accomplish this purpose of forming a public opinion in favor of placing an embargo upon munitions, many schemes were hatched in the secret counsels of the German-American Alliance. A common hatred of England had in 1907 led to an unholy rapprochement between the German-American Alliance and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, a bond which was further strengthened in 1910. In 1915 the Alliance joined with the Irish in the celebration of St. Patrick's Day (12).

Manufacture of public opinion

It was believed to be necessary for the success of the various undertakings, that the name of the German-American Alliance should not appear in these movements in favor of an embargo, and with a wholly characteristic Teuton psychology the plan was adopted of using liberally the terms "peace," "neutrality," "friend," "independence," "truth," etc.; for the exact opposites, namely, "war," "partisan," "enemy," "slavery," and "falsehood."

What's in a name?

The American Independence Union was organized in Washington under a citizen of German birth with a view to promote "true and purposeful independence of Great Britain and the observance of genuine neutrality by the prohibition of the export of munitions." The request had earlier

American Independence Union

gone out from the Alliance to all local branches to form themselves into "Neutrality Leagues" and to use names of Anglo-Saxons for the official positions, in order to conceal the German sympathies of the leagues. When now it was found to be impossible to do this, since practically all officers had German names, the request went out for the officers to resign in favor of others with less obvious antecedents (12).

"Labor's National Peace Council"

Early in 1915 Franz von Rintelen, now in prison for his crimes, came to America with almost unlimited financial credit, as the Kaiser's special agent to hinder the shipment of munitions to the Allies. He proceeded at once to poison the press, corrupt labor, hire thugs to burn, dynamite, and assassinate; in most of which efforts he was successful. As his chief lieutenant he selected David Lamar, the "wolf of Wall Street," who organized "Labor's National Peace Council" to bring about strikes and block the manufacture of munitions (13, p. 303).

To the everlasting credit of the labor unions be it said that as a body they repelled the advances of Lamar and refused to accept the liberal bribes which he offered; and their president, Mr. Gompers, has from the beginning taken a stand which reflects the highest credit upon him (12, p. 83). The I. W. W.'s, or Industrial Workers of the World, seem, on the contrary, to have early formed an alliance with German agents, so that these initials have already acquired the significance of plotter or traitor. A very considerable body of them, including their leader, Haywood, have now been tried and sentenced to imprisonment for longer or shorter terms.

The leaders in Labor's National Peace Council

proved upon investigation to be the same as those in the American Embargo Conference, which had been formed the same year, and concerning which Herr Albert, the German financial agent in America, had been informed that the German element will be kept in the background so that the organization may "have to all outward appearances a purely American character" (11).

When in the spring of 1916 President Wilson appeared before Congress to present the menace of the submarine, all local branches of the German-American Alliance, as well as other individuals believed to be pro-German, were urged from the headquarters of the Alliance to dispatch telegrams to members of Congress enjoining upon them action in favor of Germany. No less than nine telegram forms were sent to be signed and forwarded in rotation, all expense being guaranteed. One of these forms urged standing like a rock against criminal folly, another voiced sympathy for the "real sufferers," while a third purported to come "from the wives and mothers in your district." Between one and two hundred thousand of such telegrams were sent, which must have entailed an expense of nearly a quarter of a million dollars; but since the whole plot was transparent and crude, it probably accomplished no result beyond revealing the audacity of the German plotters.

The telegram barrage

Later in 1915 the "Friends of Peace" was organized at Chicago for the purpose of putting an embargo upon the shipment of munitions, and at San Francisco was held the "Neutrality of Peace Convention" of German-American and Irish societies. The "American Truth Society," which had been organized by Irish-Americans some years before

"Friends of Peace"

in order to free the United States from English influence, now took on a new lease of life as the German-Americans came in as members. Other organizations with similar purposes were the "German-American Literary Defense Committee," the "German University League" (composed of those who had studied at German universities, of which Professor Learned of the University of Pennsylvania was secretary), the "Intercollegiate League of German Clubs," and the "Teutonic Sons of America" (12, p. 72).

The Ford Peace Argosy

Early in the war the German agents were very successful in exploiting well-known pacifists and inducing them to support the German cause through advocating peace, such propaganda having no effect upon the people of the Central Empires, although successful in breaking down the morale of the allied nations. Their greatest success, and it is one of the vitally important events of the war, was to induce Henry Ford, the well-known multi-millionaire manufacturer of automobiles, to embark upon his colossal misguided efforts to bring about an early or "German" peace. As elsewhere described in these lectures, a considerable number of the most efficient German agents came into relations with Mr. Ford, among them David Lamar, Edward Rumely, and Madam Schwimmer, and induced him to embark upon his notorious Peace Argosy, to attempt to influence Congress, to oppose preparedness, etc. Foolish and ridiculous as the Argosy appeared, it accomplished the purposes of the Kaiser's agents, who were thus able to consolidate the pacifist elements of Europe and America and align them on the side of the German cause (14).

As a prelude to the war, German pamphleteers

mailed both to intellectuals in the allied countries and to the larger contingent of clergymen and teachers, political tracts the measure of which can best be described in terms of tonnage; but this bombardment was augmented enormously both in quantity and in intensity of expression so soon as the storm had broken in the summer of 1914.

The bombardment by German pamphlets

The British censorship, by reason of the thoroughness which it took on after the blockade of Germany had been finally established, was able to accumulate a large library of this material; and Mr. Harry Melville, its librarian, has arranged and carefully studied some two thousand specimens from the collection. According to him this material falls into the following groups on the basis of its objects. The apparent objects are:

"1. To draw attention to the perfection of German methods of organization.

"2. To give an exaggerated impression of the successes achieved by Germany in the war.

"3. To neutralize, as far as possible, the bad effects produced by earlier excesses.

"4. By more subtle touches to indicate the growth of dissension among the Allies and modifications in the attitude of neutrals toward the ultimate result of the war.

"5. To misrepresent, as far as possible, through the distortion of past expressions of opinion by writers of the allied nations, and by the employment of renegades, to deal with such topics as the treatment of subject races by the Allies." (15, p. 6.)

The German *Presse Abteilung zur Beinflussung der Neutralen* (Section of the Press for Influencing Neutrals) had to do with the publication and distribution of the

Kriegs Kronik, printed in five languages; the *Welt im Bild*, issued in twelve languages; and the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, sent out in three languages. The *Continental Times*, purporting to be established for "Americans in Europe," was so gross in its falsehoods that its value was probably small.

Press section to influence neutrals

A clever device was adopted in the *Gazette des Ardennes*, published in Charleville, which by including lists of French prisoners aimed to find readers in the occupied portions of France. A similar purpose was served by the *Russki Vyestnik*, printed for distribution among Russian prisoners of war in Poland.

In Turkey texts for use in the German schools were filled with propaganda through the choice of selections in readers, while the German propaganda used with German-speaking clergymen is sufficiently indicated by the titles of pamphlets; such, for example, as *Katholismus und Weltkrieg* (Catholicism and the World War), *Jesus und der Krieg* (Jesus and the War), and *Die Bibel als Kriegsbuch* (The Bible as a War Book).

School texts

That a nation which has sold itself to the devil will unwittingly defeat its own purposes through the peculiar state of mind which it engenders in its own agents, may perhaps be best illustrated by an excerpt from one of the above-mentioned propagandist papers, the *Kriegs Kronik:*

Teuton psychology again

"A traitor has just been shot, a little French lad [*ein Französling*] belonging to one of those gymnastic societies which wear tricolor ribbons [*i.e.*, the *Eclaireurs*, or Boy Scouts], a poor little fellow who in his infatuation wanted to be a hero. The German column was passing along a wooded defile, and he was caught and asked whether

the French were about. He refused to give information. Fifty yards farther on there was fire from the cover of the wood. The prisoner was asked in French if he had known that the enemy was in the forest and did not deny it. He went with firm step to a telegraph post and stood up against it, with the green vineyard at his back, and received the volley of the firing party with a proud smile on his face. Infatuated wretch! It was a pity to see such wasted courage." (16, p. 189.)

Any comment seems unnecessary.

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XII

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR —THE PREPAREDNESS MOVEMENT

"Brethren, how shall it fare with me
When the war is laid aside,
If it be proven that I am he
For whom a world has died?

. . . . . .

"That they did not ask me to draw the sword
When they stood to endure their lot,
That they only looked to me for a word,
And I answered I knew them not."

The Neutral, by RUDYARD KIPLING, 1916.

"The sacred rights of man are not to be searched for in old documents and musty records. They are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of Divinity itself and can never be erased by mortal power."—ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

"There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it, if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

GUIZOT, the great French historian, once asked James Russell Lowell how long he thought the American Republic would endure. "So long as the ideas of its founders continue to be dominant," was Lowell's reply. Upon the meaning of these words many a loyal American might well have pondered during that long period of hesitation before America saw clearly that it was her duty to play her part in the great conflict which had engulfed the world. "No sound man can doubt," said Washington, "that the most pacific policy on the part of the Government will not prevent it from being engaged in war more or less frequently." Said Alexander Hamilton: "The rights of neutrality will only be respected when they are defended by an adequate power," and Monroe declared: "A defenseless position and distinguished love of peace are the surest invitations to war."

The traditions of the fathers

When in the summer of 1914 the World War burst upon the world, the attitude assumed by the United States Government was one of aloofness. The proclamation of neutrality which was issued by President Wilson on August 19, 1914, contained a feature novel to such documents, in that the American people were enjoined to maintain neutrality of thought and sympathy as well as of action. Said Mr. Wilson in this proclamation: "We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another" (1, p. 2).

The official American attitude at outbreak of war was one of aloofness

Speaking of the war in an address delivered May 27, 1916, President Wilson said: "With its causes

and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore" (2).

The attempt to show that the war, instead of having been started by Germany, was made by diplomats, has been cleverly and assiduously worked by the German agents, more especially in two books, *How Diplomats Make War*, by a British statesman (Francis Neilson), published by the pro-German publisher, B. W. Hübsch, and *Two Thousand Questions and Answers about the War*, published by the Review of Reviews Company, and endorsed by George Creel, Director of the Committee on Public Information (3).

In an address delivered as late as October 27, 1916, Mr. Wilson said:

"Have you ever heard what started the present war? If you have, I wish you would publish it, because nobody else has, so far as I can gather. Nothing in particular started it, but everything in general. There had been growing up in Europe a mutual suspicion, an interchange of conjectures about what this government and that government was going to do, an interlacing of alliances and understandings, a complex web of intrigue and spying, that presently was sure to entangle the whole of the family of mankind on that side of the water in its meshes." (4, p. 355.)

The invasion of Belgium by the German armies took place August 4th, and the Imperial Chancellor in a speech to the *Reichstag* a few days later made the admission that this invasion was in violation of international law (11, p. 199). The guaranteeing of the neutrality of Belgium had been

The invasion of Belgium

entered into in 1839 by Great Britain, Prussia, France, Austria, and Russia; and though not a signatory to the treaty, the United States was the only Great Power not at war and in a position to register its protest without the imputation of a hostile bias due to a belligerent attitude. Wholly apart from any outraged national feeling, international traditions demanded that a formal protest at least should be made, but none was vouchsafed.

The reign of frightfulness and the wholesale murder of innocent citizens in the invaded countries had begun August 5th. In Belgium the atrocities perpetrated by the armies of invasion and occupation occurred chiefly in the periods August 5–8 and August 11–14 (5). A Belgian commission visited the United States and laid before the President the documentary evidence of these crimes against international law and against humanity, but no protest was made. When the Kaiser had on September 7th requested of Mr. Wilson "an impartial opinion" with regard to the war, the President replied: ". . . I am honored that you should have turned to me for an impartial judgment as the representative of a people truly disinterested as respects the present war. . . . I speak thus frankly because I know you will expect and wish me to do so as one friend speaks to another," and continued to the end without protest against Germany's acts (6).

Every war of considerable dimensions has imposed hardships upon neutral nations through restrictions upon freedom of commerce, and it was altogether inevitable that Great Britain's necessity of cutting off from Germany the materials of war should interfere seriously with American trade.

Interference with neutral trade

International law has been a growth in which in-

novations which are in harmony with the spirit, though not necessarily with the letter, of existing laws, have become incorporated with the consent of nations through recognition of the justice of these changes. During the blockade of the Southern States in the Civil War, the letter of the law was violated, though its spirit was maintained, when British ships carrying contraband to Jamaica and Mexico for reshipment into the Confederate States, were adjudged to be carrying contraband. In the settlement of the *Springbok* case in the United States Supreme Court, the doctrine of "continuous voyage" was advanced and this has since become incorporated into international law. This doctrine is that goods conveyed to Jamaica, for example, if *really destined for the ports of the states at war through transshipment of cargoes, were subject to the same limitations as ships sailing directly for belligerent ports.*

Under the conditions of a war of continental dimensions in which whole peoples became involved, it was inevitable that further extensions of this doctrine should be made if its spirit was to be maintained. The small neutral states contiguous to Germany were being made use of to import supplies of all kinds, so that continuous "transport," rather than continuous voyage, aptly describes the modifications which had obtained.

World war required further extensions of this doctrine

In the friction which soon developed between American shippers and the British Government, Mr. Wilson adopted an attitude which held the scales with the greatest nicety between interferences with commerce upon the one hand, and brutal destruction of innocent lives upon the other. French opinion of this attitude was thus expressed:

The scales nicely balanced between Germany and the Allies

" . . . like Colonel Roosevelt the French feel that the Germans have forfeited the right to the same treatment as that accorded to the Allies . . . a right which Wilson persists in giving them. Thinking that he ought to have acted sooner and more vigorously, they blame America for what they consider the President's pusillanimity." (7.)

An American college president of German ancestry and training, who has described himself as a "dehyphenated" American, has thus characterized this attitude:

"To say that England and France are fighting our battle in behalf of freedom and justice is to state a truism. Yet Mr. Lansing impartially measures out multitudinous words of protest to England about mail bags and cotton bales with the same carefully calculating passion with which he addresses Germany on the subject of murdered infants." (8.)

America to collect damages of Great Britain

As the year 1914 was drawing to a close, Mr. Wilson addressed a particularly vigorous note to the British Government upon the subject of restraints of American trade, concerning which the Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* had this to say:

"The language of the note is emphatic and its meaning is so plain that no opportunity is afforded of misunderstanding the position assumed by this country. . . . In a word the position of the United States is that of 'the innocent bystander' injured in the fray. . . .

"From President Wilson himself it was learned to-day that this Government felt that it had cause to claim heavy damages from the British Government for the restrictions on and the interference with American trade. . . . Perhaps the most important statement that came from the

White House was that it was the purpose of the United States to seek damages in every case where there had been interference with American trade and commerce, and it was clear that the belligerent nation was wrong." (9.)

The Administration early took the position that no special measures looking to the national defense were called for by the outbreak of the war, even though within the army and navy and in a considerable section of the American people, the feeling was strong that not a moment should be lost in setting the national house in order with reference to a possible or probable involvement in the war.

Movements toward national defense opposed

Shortly before the outbreak of the war, General Leonard Wood, our ranking general and most distinguished soldier, said in a public address at the University of Ohio:

Warning by General Leonard Wood

"You hear much talk about our tremendous military resources—'undeveloped resources' is the term most commonly used, and used with a certain sense of satisfaction by those who understand nothing of what preparation means. Undeveloped military resources are just about as useful in time of war as an undeveloped gold mine in Alaska in a panic in Wall Street. It is a valuable asset if you have time to develop it, but not otherwise, and it will not help you during the crisis. You have just seen a great war with the decisive battles fought in the first month. Wars are coming that way. Modern wars come quickly and when they come upon us, whoever our antagonist may be, he will take advantage of the fact that we are never ready, and war will be made with more than usual promptness in order that we may not be able to assemble even such scanty organized and trained resources as we have."

When the war had broken out General Wood sounded

his warning with even greater persistence and power, and from the side of the navy, Admiral Fiske, our greatest naval strategist, with the able assistance of Admiral Winslow and others, repeatedly pointed out the peril to the nation if it continued in its present defenseless condition. Without exception, so far as I am aware, those who had ventured to warn the nation were demoted or otherwise made to suffer for their patriotic devotion.

In the face of all these warnings Mr. Wilson delivered to a joint session of Congress on December 8, 1914, four months after the outbreak of the war, an address in which he advised a mild encouragement and increase of the National Guard. He then went on to say:

Mr. Wilson's assurance of security

"More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our policy. More than this, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble. . . .

"But I turn from the subject. It is not new. There is no need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude because some amongst us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree upon a policy of defense. The question has not changed its aspects because the times are not normal. . . . Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense." (10, p. 21.)

Despite this assurance of the Executive that no need existed for looking to the defense of the nation, there

were those outside military and naval circles who saw clearly the danger and who realized from the outset that the conflict raging in Europe was the age-long struggle of democracy against autocracy, and that if America remained true to her traditions, no pacifist President could keep the nation from eventually becoming involved in the maelstrom. The peril to America was that a decision unfavorable to us would be reached in Europe, and that, having refused to fight in alliance with the other democratic nations, the war would come to America after our natural allies had been destroyed and be there fought out single-handed.

America's peril

For two and a half years America assumed the attitude of the "innocent bystander" injured in the fray, and it was not until we had drifted willy-nilly into the struggle, that the President finally recognized that it was the irrepressible conflict between autocracy and democracy which had involved the world. In his peace note of December 20, 1916, Mr. Wilson said through his Secretary of State in addressing the allied nations: "He [the President] takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same" (11).

For two years the Executive regarded the war as a struggle among rivals for conquest

As the general commanding the Department of the East, General Leonard Wood, clearly forecasting the future, established the so-called Plattsburg camps for the training of officers, it being clear to military men that the greatest difficulty in the way of hurriedly bringing together an army on our involvement in the war would be to supply the necessary officers. At Plattsburg barracks upon Lake

The Plattsburg camps

Champlain, under the fiction of field maneuvers by a small body of regular troops, properly qualified civilians were received as "visitors" and underwent an intensive training in the military art. The red-blooded element in the population, and especially the college trained men, responded loyally to this call, and it can truthfully be said that the later work of organizing the National Army was enormously facilitated by the training of the Plattsburg camps.

Work of the defense societies

The various defense societies, whose tireless efforts crystallized public sentiment, included the Navy League (12), the National Security League (13), the American Defense Society (14), the American Rights League (15), the Conference Committee on National Preparedness (16), the National Committee on Patriotic and Defense Societies, and some others of lesser note. The Navy League had been founded in 1902 during the Administration of President Roosevelt and with his active coöperation. In January, 1918, it counted fifty thousand members. The American Defense Society came into existence almost immediately after the outbreak of war, while the National Security League held its first meeting December 14, 1914, and claims one hundred thousand members. The American Rights League has had for its head and its inspiring genius Major George Haven Putnam, who had been one of the founders of the National Security League, and it has accomplished an inestimable service through the great mass meetings held in the national metropolis at critical moments when it was essential to arouse the conscience of the nation.

All these societies existed without any encouragement from the Administration, with whom their differ-

ent point of view was frequently found in conflict. The Navy League particularly and the American Defense Society were, by methods sometimes direct, sometimes indirect, rebuked either by the President or by the secretaries of War or Navy. The leaders of the American Rights League were by name charged by the New York *World*, regarded as speaking for the Administration, as guilty of insufferable insolence. That the combined efforts of all these societies to arouse the conscience of the nation and by the dissemination of correct information to show the absolute need of early defensive preparation, performed a service of inestimable value, there cannot be the slightest doubt. That conscription was accomplished so easily when with our entry into the war the President removed his opposition, must be chiefly credited to their efforts.

So far as possible access to knowledge bearing upon questions of defense was closed to the public. On February 23, 1915, a general order was issued to officers of the army which enjoined them from "giving out for publication any interview, statement, discussion, or article on the military situation in the United States or abroad."

Sources of information upon national defense closed to the people by official order

It becoming known that both the General Staff of the army and the General Board of the navy had submitted reports concerning necessary national defense, the first great congress of the National Security League held at Chicago, November 27, 1915,—a congress at which no less than three ex-secretaries of war took part in the discussions and in passing the resolutions—adopted strong resolutions urging "That the complete recommendations of the Navy General Board and General Staff of the Army be made public at once

for the information of the people." The only reply vouchsafed to this request was a formal note from the President's secretary acknowledging the receipt of the communication. The same request was urged by the American Defense Society, and in the dispatches of November 16, 1915, it was given out after a cabinet meeting that, against the advice of the then Secretary of War, Mr. Wilson refused to make these reports public. His attitude was reported to be that as head of the government he was responsible for the general policies urged for the various departments, and that his decisions should be given out in advance of the recommendations of the experts.

The American attitude towards the war in the earlier stages has been ably summed up by the Hon. Elihu Root, ex-Secretary of War, in the following paragraph:

Mr. Root's comment on America's official attitude

"Ordinary knowledge of European affairs made it plain that the war was begun not by accident but with purpose which would not soon be relinquished. Ordinary knowledge of military events made it plain from the moment when the tide of German invasion turned from the Battle of the Marne that the conflict was certain to be long and desperate. Ordinary knowledge of history—of our own history during the Napoleonic wars—made it plain that in that conflict neutral rights would be worthless unless powerfully maintained. All the world had fair notice that, as against the desperate belligerent resolved to conquer, the law of nations and the law of humanity interposed no effective barriers for the protection of neutral rights. Ordinary practical sense in the conduct of affairs demanded that such steps should be taken that behind the peaceable assertion of our country's rights, its independ-

ence and its honor, should stand power manifest and available, warning the whole world that it would cost too much to press aggression too far. The Democratic Government at Washington did not see it. Others saw it and their opinions found voice." (17, p. 76.)

The vocalized conscience of America

No voice was so clear and impelling as that of the ex-President, Colonel Roosevelt, who for thirty-five years had preached the need of preparing the national defense, and who during his administration as President had, against strong opposition, accomplished more for the army and navy than any other Executive. Until it became manifest that Mr. Wilson's attitude was to be one of aloofness, Mr. Roosevelt held his peace; but once the pacifist attitude of the Administration had been clearly revealed, he became the vocalized conscience of the American nation in the greatest crisis of its history.

Peace activities of the Administration

Taking no interest in the national defense and regarding the war in Europe as without direct relation to America, as he explained in his address to Congress of December 8, 1914, Mr. Wilson early interested himself actively in attempts to bring about peace between the warring Powers. The first preliminaries to such an effort were undertaken on the initiative of Count von Bernstorff, who at a dinner with the banker, James Speyer, gave out the cryptic pronouncement that "while he had no advices from his government since leaving Berlin, he recalled a conversation with the Imperial Chancellor, in which the latter said he believed the Emperor would be able to discuss measures of peace through mediation" (18). The date of this statement is significant, for it is that of the first setback to Germany in the

Battle of the Marne and preceded by a few hours only the victory of the French and the beginning of the German retirement to the Aisne. Germany's first peace drive therefore, like her later ones, was timed to occur after a reverse to her fortunes. When the retreat on the German right flank was fully under way on September 7th, the Kaiser sent to Mr. Wilson the remarkable request for "an impartial opinion" concerning the war. After Secretary Bryan had had a meeting with the Imperial German Ambassador, Ambassador Gerard was on September 7th requested to make an inquiry of the Kaiser if he would confirm the statement said to have been made to his Chancellor. Two days later the President proclaimed a day of prayer for peace, but on the same day word was received from the British Foreign Office through diplomatic channels that the Entente nations had agreed not to make peace without common consent, and that what the Entente Powers "wanted was no temporary truce but a permanent peace in Europe so that the world could be insured against a sudden outbreak of war after Germany had recouped herself." Thus the Entente Powers were able to block the initial peace drive of Germany put forward by the American President.

In the summer of 1915, the President, according to report, was busily engaged at his summer home at Cornish, N. H., in efforts to bring about peace and stop the war. The New York *Times* of July 3, 1915, said:

"President Wilson spent most of to-day studying in quiet seclusion the general European question, including the possibility of bringing about peace. He had before

him confidential reports of Colonel E. M. House, Ambassador Gerard, Secretary Lansing, and other officials. He has been gathering these reports for several months, and is now taking the opportunity offered by freedom from minor worries to go over them and familiarize himself with the foreign situation. He will obtain additional information about the possibilities of peace in Europe soon after his return to Washington. . . . He has already received several delegations proposing various peace plans, and is understood to be ready to give careful consideration to any proposal of a practical nature."

Late in November of the same year a Woman's Peace Mass Meeting was held in Washington, and twenty thousand duplicate telegrams, said to have been paid for by Mrs. Henry Ford, were sent to the President imploring peace, the same appeal being presented in person by spokeswomen, one of whom was Madam Schwimmer, a secret agent of the Central Powers (19). Mr. Wilson's peace note to the Allies issued on December 19, 1916, and the "Peace without Victory" message of January 22, 1917, will be fully discussed in a later lecture.

The defense programs

Following the *Lusitania* and other submarine outrages of the spring of 1915, the President became convinced that some measure of preparedness for defense of the nation was necessary, and he therefore directed letters to the General Staff of the army and the General Board of the navy asking that recommendations be submitted, and on July 30th both reports were placed in his hands. As has already been stated, the information contained in these reports was withheld from the public notwithstanding the urgent requests of the several defense societies.

The President's plan of defense was first made known to the public in a speech at the banquet of the New York Manhattan Club early in December, 1915. In this speech the President said: "No thoughtful man feels any panic haste in this matter. The country is not threatened from any quarter. . . ." Of his program he said, a program which involved some strengthening of the National Guard and naval increases: "Has any better plan been proposed than this program which we now place before the country? In it there is no pride of opinion. It represents the best professional and expert judgment of the country." (20.)

Mr. Wilson's defense program

It was only after the opening of Congress, when all responsible committees on military affairs in both houses had been committed to a special brand of defense measure, that the President at last permitted the recommendations of the experts to be made public; and it was later to be discovered that the reports put forward as the defense recommendations of what was necessary in the opinions of the General Board of the navy and the General Staff of the army, were in reality not the original reports, but others which had been submitted under the express stipulation by the President that they should not exceed a definite sum. This evident attempt to mislead the public so exasperated Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood, President of the Society of Aeronautical Engineers and a member of the Naval Consulting Board, that on December 22, 1915, he resigned from the board and published a caustic open letter to the Secretary of the Navy which had the effect of forcing publication of the original reports (21).

The suppressed reports

The suppressed original report of the Navy General

Board, when published, was found to have called for the laying down in the first year of construction of four dreadnoughts and four battle cruisers, whereas the pared-down report which had been submitted October 12, 1915, and given to the public as the original one, reduced the number of battle cruisers to two, retained the full number of dreadnoughts, but made large contractions in the program for auxiliary vessels. Mr. Wilson's program, of which in his speech at the Manhattan Club he had said "it represents the best professional and expert judgment of the country," cut the number of capital ships in half, and therefore called for but two dreadnoughts and two battle cruisers in place of four each, the number stated to be necessary by the General Board of the navy.

Comparison of Mr. Wilson's naval program with that of the experts

The House Naval Committee (Democratic) actually increased considerably the President's estimates for the navy, while the minority report of the same committee (Republican) increased the estimates of the original report of the Navy General Board, though modifying the proportion of capital ships in favor of two dreadnoughts and six battle cruisers (22). Of all the programs for naval expansion, that recommended by the Administration was by far the smallest, and in fact only about half what was urged as absolutely necessary by the most competent body of naval experts in the country presided over by Admiral Dewey.

Attitude of Congress on naval increase

In the Senate the navy bill as passed by the House was modified in the direction of large increases, and after long delays in conference, Mr. Wilson's opposition was withdrawn, whereupon the bill promptly passed in a form providing for a three-year building

program to include ten dreadnoughts and six battle cruisers.

Army legislation

In army legislation the Administration likewise opposed the recommendations of the trained experts of the General Staff, and through supporting the vicious plan of the lobby of Adjutant-Generals of the National Guard, he brought about the resignation of Mr. Garrison, the Secretary of War, whose place was soon taken by the pacifist, Newton D. Baker.

Throughout the period preceding our own entry into the war, Mr. Wilson opposed the principle of conscription, which to produce a national army was consistently advocated by every defense society without exception. A delegation of patriotic citizens from Maryland who waited upon the President to advocate this principle of defense, received what they regarded as a "scolding" for venturing to do so, as fully discribed in Washington dispatches of January 25, 1917.

When at last the nation had drifted into the war, the soil which had been so carefully prepared by the defense societies bore fruit, and the country at once accepted the conscription idea, so that its application was looked upon as an act involving the highest duty and honor of citizenship, rather than a humiliation and shame.

Governing without the Constitution

It early became apparent that it was Mr. Wilson's plan to take entire charge of foreign affairs without any restrictions in the constitutional checks of Senate confirmation. The method by which this was accomplished was to appoint his own secret diplomatic agents quite apart from the regular diplomatic service—agents who reported to him directly and who had no constitutional checks upon their action. This attempt to govern without the Con-

stitution is of such vital importance that I propose to quote quite fully from the opinion of one of our ablest jurists, Mr. James M. Beck, who says:

"In a most important crisis of history Mr. Wilson has gone far to exclude the Senate from any adequate participation in the foreign policies of the government, and as this usurpation of power has not been followed by any protest from the body whose constitutional prerogative has been thus impaired, it leaves the thoughtful student of our history to wonder whether the Constitution may not hereafter prove, with the steady growth of power in the Executive, little more than a 'scrap of paper.'

Is the Constitution a "scrap of paper"?

"To the Framers of the Constitution there were no provisions of greater importance than those which required joint action by the Executive and the Senate in determining the foreign policy of the Republic. To them this concurrent authority marked the principal distinction between a monarchy and a republic.

"In 1787 every then existing government except our own regarded the foreign relations as peculiarly the prerogative of the Crown and not of the Legislature. The King, Emperor, or Czar made treaties, appointed and received Ambassadors and ministers, declared war and made peace. . . .

Autocracies give over foreign relations to the monarch

"This expansion of executive power, which has proceeded in violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, has had many instances in our history, but it has never been carried to the same length as in the Administration of Woodrow Wilson. His foreign policy both with respect to Mexico and to the European states has been a continuous and palpable violation of the Constitution, and the fact that this has been accompanied with little protest on the part of the people and has had an apparent acquiescence on the part of the Senate, shows how unstable even a

written Constitution may be, and how far our constitutional compact can be bent by the ambition of a self-centered Chief Executive.

"Mr. Wilson has brought about the very condition which the framers of the Constitution sought to prevent in claiming and exercising almost all the powers with reference to foreign relations that the Crown did in the time of George III. . . .

Mr. Wilson usurped powers

"Mr. Wilson without consulting Congress or the Senate determined to destroy the then existing *de facto* government of Mexico, not only by refusing to recognize it but also to prevent through diplomatic means any further continued recognition of it by any foreign nation. As a result of this attitude, the originally feeble insurrection of Carranza, largely restricted to the northern part of Mexico, became more formidable, and Mr. Wilson thereupon, without the consent of the Senate, sent two diplomatic representatives to Mexico, one John Lind, to drive Huerta from power, and the other William Bayard Hale, to confer in the name of the Chief Magistrate, and therefore in the name of the country, with Carranza. . . .

"If this unjustified assumption of power were true as to Lind's mission to Huerta, it was even more objectionable in the matter of Hale's mission to Carranza and Villa. The aid which was thus given to the insurrectionists and the moral support thereby afforded to the unspeakable Villa was a violation of the spirit of the Constitution even though it may not have been of its letter. . . .

Hale as Mr. Wilson's agent (23)

"The President without the authority of Congress or the Senate virtually, if not technically, made war against the *de facto* government of Mexico, and made it so successfully that it finally succumbed with the result that Mexico has since been in a state of chronic anarchy.

Mr. Wilson virtually declares war without Congressional consent

"A still more striking instance of this usurpation of power is the appointment by the President of Colonel

Edward M. House to be Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to all Europe. The law never created any such position and without the action of Congress this new position of Paramount Ambassador has no legal justification whatever . . . .

Colonel House Paramount Ambassador

"If the President, obedient to the Constitution, had recommended to Congress the creation of such a position, there can be little doubt that the proposition would have been promptly voted down, for it is altogether unlikely that Congress would sanction the creation of an office whose incumbent would have a roving commission to all the capitals of Europe, especially at a time of such serious international complications as at present. . . .

"If Colonel House has any previous experience which qualifies him to be the Ambassador to all Europe in the most trying crisis of all history, the world knows it not. All it knows of this mysterious figure in American politics is that he was a successful political intriguer in Texas and that later he became the unofficial adviser of Mr. Wilson in the selection of his Cabinet and the shaping of his policies. He has never been elected by the American people to any position of consequence. . . .

Colonel House's antecedent history

"Although Colonel House may have all the qualifications of Franklin, Talleyrand, and Metternich combined, the fact still remains that in accrediting him as a diplomatic representative of this country to all the belligerent nations, Mr. Wilson has exercised the very power which the Constitution of our country expressly withheld from him. . . . Is the Constitution a 'scrap of paper'?" (24.)

When the utter failure of Dr. Dernberg's campaign of propaganda in America had been brought home to the German Government, submarine warfare was begun. On February 4, 1915, Germany declared a

war zone about the British Isles and stated, "Every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers. . . . It cannot always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships."

The submarine outrages

To this obvious defiance of international law Mr. Wilson made a reply in language which admitted of no doubt that America was to resist with force any infringement of her rights upon the high seas. He said, "if the commanders of German vessels of war . . . should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens . . . the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities." This was a most statesmanlike official paper and was widely commended in the American press and in speeches and interviews of influential American citizens who fully comprehended what was involved.

Germany to be held to strict accountability

On March 28, 1915, the British merchantman *Falaba* was sunk with the loss of an American life. This outrage was followed on May 1st by the sinking of the American merchant ship *Gulflight*, and on May 7th the world stood aghast at the frightful outrage, deliberately planned and perpetrated, of the sinking of the great British liner *Lusitania* with the loss of more than a thousand non-combatants including women and children and 114 Americans.

The destruction of the *Falaba* and the *Gulflight* together constituted a defiance of both threats contained in the President's message of February 10th,

while the *Lusitania* outrage by its vast proportions shocked the entire world, which waited in suspense for Mr. Wilson's leadership to be displayed. Three days later he appeared in Philadelphia to speak on "The Meaning of Americanism" and the entire country followed every word of his speech in which occurred these significant passages:

"Too proud to fight"

"The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." (4, p. 260.)

It would undoubtedly be incorrect to say that by the vast majority of American citizens these lines were not read with a feeling of distinct relief, even though it was recognized that righteousness had been sacrificed to soft expediency. Colonel Roosevelt expressed the situation created when he said:

Leadership lacking

"The average man does not want to be disturbed. He doesn't want to be called upon to leave his business and his family, and do a distinctly unpleasant duty. That is natural enough. Nevertheless, you can appeal to either of the two soul-sides of that man. If you appeal to his deepest sense of duty, to all that he has of strength and of courage and of highmindedness you can make him shake off his sloth, his self-indulgence, his short-sightedness, or his timidity, and stand up to do and dare and die at need, just as the men of Bunker Hill and Trenton and Yorktown and Gettysburg and Shiloh did and dared and died.

"But if, upon the other hand, with great rhetorical ingenuity and skill, you furnish that man with high-sound-

ing names to cloak ignoble action or ignoble failure to act, then it is so natural as to be pardonable in the average man to accept the excuse thrust upon him and to do the ignoble thing which the man who ought to be his leader counsels him to do." (25, p. 36.)

"President Wilson having failed to seize the event," says William Morton Fullerton, "to be the constitutional guide and prophet of the nation which would have followed him any whither, as it follows any President who has the gift of leadership, was compelled to devise belated methods of saving the honor of his country and of conserving its traditions." (17, p. 138.)

Drifting into war

Encouraged by the American Government's failure to follow up words by acts, the German Government continued its work of destruction until by April 1, 1917, a total of 226 American lives had been sacrificed, not including twenty-four children born of foreign parents on American soil (26). When in the spring of 1917 we were drifting rapidly into war and Mr. Wilson was hesitating over the armed ship issue while American vessels were blockaded in American ports, I wrote in a public address what I take the liberty of repeating here.

Faltering before duty

"The country stands together for assertion of its rights, as the contempt and obloquy everywhere heaped upon the La Follette-Stone group of Senators have eloquently testified. But thoughtful men are now pondering more and more seriously another question, and one of sinister import. What if the President should continue to falter and to persistently refuse to act in defense of American rights and to safeguard our citizens murdered with ever-increasing frequency and ruthlessness by the German Government? The month and more that

has now elapsed since Germany blockaded our merchant shipping in our own ports through her latest campaign of murder upon the high seas, seems to these men a long time for splitting hairs as to whether each new outrage may, or may not be, an 'overt act' of war in the sense implied by a particular note of Mr. Wilson, and it may well be questioned how long the nation will remain content with an exegesis of his notes as a substitute for drastic action."

General Grant has remarked significantly in his *Memoirs* of the plotting against the government which went on unrebuked during the last months of Buchanan's Administration, as events were rushing on towards the great cataclysm of the Civil War: "Meanwhile, the Administration of President Buchanan looked helplessly on and proclaimed that the General Government had no power to interfere, that the nation had no power to save its own life" (27). When it became necessary to supply and to reinforce the little garrison of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, President Buchanan refused to act, and his Secretary of State, General Lewis Cass of Michigan, after a stormy Cabinet session, did not hesitate to express his conviction that such a course led directly to national ruin, and he forthwith resigned his portfolio.

The spirit of 1917

As President Wilson still continued to falter, a great mass meeting was called by the American Rights League, met in Carnegie Hall, and adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That whereas the sinking of the *Laconia* by a German submarine and the plotting against our national safety by the German Government constitute the crowning infamies of two years of continuous warfare

against the American people, and present to them an issue which no sophistry can conceal, no half-measures satisfy; and

"Whereas, The failure of the present government boldly to meet this issue and faithfully to discharge the obligations arising from it would convict the American nation of being too timid to defend the lives of its women and children, too base to defend the honor of its flag, and too selfish to bear its share of the burden of protecting its own rights and the rights of humanity; therefore, be it further

"Resolved, That while urging the arming of American vessels, we recognize that such action can in no wise meet the situation created by overt acts of war like the sinking of the *Laconia*, since it leaves unfulfilled the fundamental obligation of the government to protect the lives of American citizens and to maintain the honor of the American flag;

"Resolved, That in our opinion it is the further duty of the President, without hesitation or delay, to take whatever action may be required to assure the immediate participation of the United States in the necessary task of protecting neutral lives, as well as neutral commerce, by clearing from the seas the piratical submarines of the German navy."

The content of the speeches and their reception at this great meeting showed unmistakably that the spirit which had animated the nation in 1776 and in 1860 had not left it.

Is there no parallel between the events of Buchanan's day and ours? True, we look in vain for a Lewis Cass in the present Cabinet, but Baker and Daniels were both represented in the Cabinet of President Buchanan. History has appraised the conduct of Buchanan, and the judgment is not one likely to be envied. Then, as now, the cry was raised, "Stand by the President," and the loyal men of the

An earlier parallel

North demurred; but when in Lincoln a leader had arisen, these same men stood ready and "gave the last full measure of devotion."

Shortly after this meeting in Carnegie Hall and during the impending crisis, I made statements in a public address which to present clearly the situation then existing I herewith reproduce:

"In the absence of a rule of clôture which puts a premium upon filibustering tactics, why was it necessary for Mr. Wilson to inject into the waning hours of a dying Congress a question of authority not seriously challenged and believed to be already possessed; and why should this issue of arming American merchantmen have been coupled with a demand to vest in the Executive dictatorial powers throughout the period of the next seven months? Should one be asked to trust additional powers to an Executive who will not use those he has, even when the life of the nation may be at stake? Why when all but a twentieth of the people's representatives in Congress have given their support to the armed ship measure, and the country has responded with an even greater approach to unanimity, why does Mr. Wilson conveniently discover an antiquated law which only upon the strictest possible construction might stand in the way of action? 'The sacred rights of man,' said Alexander Hamilton, 'are not to be searched for in old documents and musty records. They are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of Divinity itself and can never be erased by mortal power.'

Sacred rights of man not in musty records

"Does Mr. Wilson seem to have been greatly troubled either by law or by precedent when without advice and contrary both to the traditions of the nation and to the sentiments of the vast majority of his countrymen, he gave America's official endorsement to 'peace without

victory,' and 'the freedom of the seas'? Why, when the flurry of the opposition filibuster in Congress had died down and the pro-German Senators were receiving their proper reward from an outraged people, did we hear nothing of the *Laconia* outrage, the crowning 'overt act' which admitted of no mitigating circumstances or excuses, such as have been deemed by the President to apply to children and negroes, or to citizens that were not killed but only shelled during their efforts to escape in open boats on a wintry sea?

"Why, I say again, does the President persistently refuse to call the new Congress in special session? Are there then no emergency measures which will not brook delay? Have we no need of an army and are not army experts, the National Guard, and all defense societies in entire agreement to urge immediate introduction of universal military training and service? Do we not need at once a thousand officers and at least fifty thousand men for our navy? Can these be obtained without congressional action, and must we, having waited two years and a half in peril, continue the delay until next November before the questions can be even considered?"

Hesitancy in calling Congress together

When by a process of drifting America in the spring of 1917 had, willy-nilly, been forced to declare that a state of war with Germany was already in existence by virtue of that country's acts, the Administration made a sudden and complete change of front. Forgetting that "nothing in particular, but everything in general" had started this war, Mr. Wilson now, in that telling phraseology of which he is the conspicuous master, advanced the view which had been so well expressed by Major Gardner in his opposition to the Administration, that the conflict raging in Europe

The Administration's abrupt change of front in 1917

was the age-long and irrepressible struggle between autocracy and democracy,—as indeed it had appeared to most patriotic Americans to be from its beginning. Yet the semi-official though anonymous book extravagantly endorsed by the director of the official press bureau (65) went to much pains to show that the war had assumed this aspect only when Mr. Wilson had led America into it in the spring of 1917 (66).

America's official attitude toward the war during the period of her participation in it is far too formidable a subject to be treated with any fullness in the closing paragraphs of a single chapter, and a few outstanding facts can alone be touched upon.

Active participation in the war long delayed

All that had been predicted by the defense societies concerning the handicaps of going into war unprepared was now more than verified. Nearly everything in the way of preparation of the national defense had to be started at the beginning and without adequate plans on which to work. The navy rose first to the task before it and achieved a record of organization which has merited the highest praise; though the naval program of 1916, at least in so far as construction of its capital ships was concerned, failed utterly of its purpose because it had been left until too late. The demand for structural steel and for skilled workmen in other war activities soon halted construction in this direction, which thereupon lapsed until the termination of hostilities.

As regards the army, fully fifteen months had elapsed before any considerable part could be taken in the fighting at the front.

Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Wilson from the beginning and generally throughout the war had re-

fused to take counsel with the representatives of the Republican party, or even with those members of his own party who had been conspicuous in advocating national preparedness for this inevitable conflict, and though he insisted on conducting the war as a personal rather than as a national effort, with but few exceptions the senators and congressmen of both parties, like the people generally, stood squarely behind him in all real war measures. When the armistice with Germany had been signed after nineteen months of America's official participation in the war, a Democratic leader upon the floor of the United States Senate declared that the Republicans had given the Administration better support in his war measures than had the members of his own political party.

The rally of the nation to the support of the war

Had America been permitted to enter the war immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, or had she even met this atrocious attack upon her rights with adequate preparations and entered the conflict when she did, the allied nations would not have been compelled to sweat blood through two more long years and pay the frightful toll in human life in the darkest hours of their trial during the spring months of 1918. With such American military forces only as were thrown into the battles of midsummer, the tide must have turned with the opening of the German spring offensive in Picardy. This interval between the opening of the offensive and the turning of the tide is three short but terrible months,—from March to early June. As it was, only one division of American troops was at the front when the drive opened on March 21st, and there were but three divisions in reserve (67).

America's aid arrived too late for the great crises of the spring of 1918

With the rout of Gough's Fifth British Army in the spring drive, the cause of civilization came nearer to utter collapse than at any other time since the initial German onset in the fall of 1914, and it was at the eleventh hour and with hordes of Huns still driving on a few miles only from the Paris-Calais life-line that strong French forces arrived under General Fayolle and stopped the gap in the lines.

The desperate battles in Picardy and Flanders

Halted at this threatened point, the German tide again surged forward and quickly overwhelmed other British armies in Flanders, but with their "backs to the wall" once more with the timely succor of French forces dispatched by Foch the British retreat was halted upon the slopes of Mount Kemmel.

It was the promise of early aid from American troops which had arrived in France and were undergoing their training, which permitted the generalissimo to meet with assurance the next German drives in the Champagne and about Compiègne, though at terrible cost in casualties. Again in the first week of June there developed a crisis of the first magnitude when the Germans had renewed their assault along the Marne in the Champagne salient. The French line was broken at Château-Thierry where nearest to Paris, and though the American troops were not yet ready, the American commander in this desperate situation was allowed to throw into the gap a small body composed largely of Marines and Regulars with a result which the world knows (68). By their magnificent courage and their heroic resistance against the very flower of the German army the drive was halted, the exhausted French troops were wonderfully inspirited, and, largely because of the changes brought

The turning of the tide

about in the morales of the opposing armies, the turning of the tide of war may perhaps be said to date from this action. Every true American has cause for pride in the splendid fighting qualities displayed by American troops in this as in all later actions, especially at the driving in of the German salient in the Champagne, the pinching out of the St. Mihiel salient, and in the slow but determined advance through the Argonne and along the Meuse to achieve the capture of Sedan.

Three guiding principles of action of the Administration

There appear to have been three principles of action adopted by the Administration which have stood in the way of the country's rising to the possibilities of which its splendid spirit gave promise, and this notwithstanding the serious handicap in lack of preparation. These were (1) Mr. Wilson's evident determination to conduct the war as a personal rather than as a national effort and to exclude from counsel and from positions of power and responsibility all save his own devoted political followers (69); (2) a failure to realize that the element of time had become the greatest of all factors determining success, and that it would be far better to rush all available equipment to the front rather than to spend time in experimenting for something which might prove to be superior; and (3) the refusal to replace officials found to be inefficient, and to stubbornly oppose all efforts to uncover inefficiency, waste, or worse, even though undertaken with the most patriotic motives and with the object of hastening our active participation in the war.

From the above considerations it resulted that when after nineteen months of our participation in the war, hostilities had been brought to an end by the

signing of the armistice, not a single field gun, tank, or pursuit aeroplane of American manufacture was in use at the front (70), all this equipment having been supplied at great sacrifice by our Allies (71); and the machine guns, shells, and gas had also in large part been supplied from the same source. Our supply of rifles had been much delayed through the decision to rechamber the Enfield rifle for use of American ammunition, and a consequent re-arming with the unmodified Enfield became necessary when American troops were brigaded with the British armies. The American-made Lewis machine gun used with such success by the British armies, though immediately available for manufacture in quantity, was rejected for an experimental new weapon which in its lighter model at least did not reach the front in time to replace to any considerable extent the French machine gun which it had been necessary to adopt.

The breakdown of the War Department

The failure of the War Department to equip the National army was met, as we have seen, by France, upon which country had devolved also the replacement of 2500 or more guns lost by Italy in the debacle which followed the break through the Julian Alps in the fall of 1917.

Though Secretary Baker had promised to have five hundred thousand American troops in France early in 1918, there were on March 21st only four divisions in France. In this supreme crisis the British Premier made a direct appeal to Mr. Wilson to rush American troops to the front, and received the quick response that the troops would be sent if England would transport "her share." At great sacrifice British ships were withdrawn from many

The transport "miracle"

lines and two hundred thousand tons of essential cargoes per month were in consequence given up by Great Britain, already handicapped by the use of her merchant marine for war purposes. The fact of greatest importance, however, is that the troops were transported, and for the Fourth of July Secretary Baker was able to send out the heartening message to the American nation that a million American troops were already in France. His official report thus communicated to the public on Independence Day included a congratulatory reply from the President, but neither his report nor the President's letter betrayed the fact that the feat accomplished was mainly British rather than American (72). Washington dispatches for months had exploited the "transport miracle" (73), likewise without mentioning the part of Great Britain, and this fact became public through a reported speech of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt at a banquet in London late in July (74), and in the speech of the British Premier in the House of Commons early in the month of August (75).

An official press bureau

No reference to America's attitude toward the war could overlook the fact that as early as January 14, 1917, Mr. Wilson had created an official press bureau independent of Congress and under his immediate control. This bureau had been placed in charge of George Creel, and has been responsible both for the suppression of vitally important news which the public should possess, and for the dissemination of much misleading information, always it is believed, in praise of the Administration's conduct of the war (76). This bureau bears a close resemblance in its organization and purpose to the Official News Service of the Imperial German Empire conducted by the notorious Dr. Hammann, and it can fairly be said

that it is out of harmony with the traditions of the American Republic.

When the masterful strategy of Foch and the superb fighting qualities of the armies under his command were fast driving the invaders out of France with their morale visibly weakened, the German government appealed to Mr. Wilson to mediate with the Allies for peace. This in effect he promptly did, asking Germany to state whether she was ready to accept his peace program of "fourteen points"; a program which made no mention of any reparation even to Belgium, echoed Germany's insistent demand for freedom of the seas in war, flew squarely in the face of the Paris Pact of the Allied Nations signed in June, 1916, and providing for an economic alliance against Germany, and was in other essentials sufficiently vague for their acceptance (77). Their acceptance was so prompt as to excite suspicion, and though the demand for unconditional surrender became ever more insistent, an armistice was brought about which though it yielded military concessions amounting to a surrender, yet permitted the German armies to go home acclaimed by the populace and claiming that they were undefeated. It thus failed to achieve a moral regeneration of a predatory nation (78).

Complete victory balked by armistice

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XIII

PACIFIST PROPAGANDA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

"'Blessed are the peacemakers,' not merely the peace-lovers; for action is what makes thought operative and valuable. Above all the peace prattlers are in no way blessed. On the contrary only mischief has sprung from the activities of the professional peace prattlers, the ultra-pacifists, who with the shrill clamor of eunuchs preach the gospel of the milk and water of virtue and scream that belief in the efficacy of diluted moral mush is essential to salvation."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"The undisputed facts prove, then, that in order to win the war, pacifism—the propagandists of which are comparatively few in number, but as noisy as they are ill-informed—must be combated in the allied countries as vigorously as Pan-Germanism, of which it is the most potent auxiliary."—ANDRÉ CHÉRADAME.

"But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet and the people be not warned, if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand."—EZEKIEL, XXXIII, 6.

"When statesmen are laying out policies, and moralists are setting up systems, it is worth their while to make certain that they are not, in fact, engaged upon an attempt to make water flow uphill; above all that their ingenious new aqueducts will actually hold water, which in this instance they certainly did not."—FREDERICK SCOTT OLIVER in *Ordeal by Battle.*

Vision in political affairs

IT is the gift of prescience which differentiates the statesman from the mere politician—the statesman's vision ranges beyond the horizon which has closed in about his less favored or more time-serving colleague, and his policies are in consequence both more far-reaching and more discerning.

Though less in the public eye and without such large direct control over the course of events, the scholar has even better opportunities to survey what for those below his vantage point lies hidden beyond the horizon. The ability to make out the remoter outlines, blurred as they are by distance, and to reproduce them for the benefit of those less fortunately placed, should belong particularly, it would seem, to the historian and to the trained student of political science and economics.

Through having traversed the long journey to our present position, these students have again and again been privileged to observe how special racial characteristics or dominant national ideals and ambitions have borne fruit in consequences of vast importance, and according as these have been foreseen and provided for, or have been overlooked and neglected, they have brought about the triumph or the downfall of nations.

Certainty in measuring national tendencies

Of political and social science it is as true as it is of physical science that, given certain conditions, definite results must follow. The occasion and the time, as well as many of the details of the consummation, it may not be possible to forecast, but the general result will hardly admit of doubt.

To one who would examine into conditions in Europe a full decade before the outbreak of this world war, it must have been revealed that Germany was making her preparations for vast conquests, and there could be little doubt as to her intended victims. In one of the most indiscreet but also illuminating and damning of autobiographies in all history, the iron chancellor revealed in their essential outlines the mainsprings of Prussian

Watchmen failed to give warning

policy. The brutally frank speeches of William II. when read in connection with German official and semi-official publications, notably General Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War*, should have convinced any unbiased inquirer that the ideals of Frederick the Great and Bismarck were those of Prussianized Germany to-day.

The failure of our intellectuals to visualize this alarming situation and to send out a warning in time to meet it with adequate preparation, will ever remain one of the most amazing, as it is one of the most tragic, of all the facts connected with this terrible war. Yet it may fairly be said that, if we except professors of the German language and literature, no classes among American scholars have been so blinded to actual conditions or include among their numbers more pacifists and pro-Germans, than the trained students of history and economics. Schooled in the interpretation of events, the responsibility was upon them to sound a warning which, though it might go unheeded, could not be misunderstood.

Blind leaders of the blind

Not only was no warning sounded by American history professors generally, but prominent members of the profession labored diligently to mislead the public and to keep the nation from preparing, even after Armageddon had broken out in Europe. Ferdinand Schevill, professor of history at the University of Chicago, issued a pamphlet in which he said of the war:

"Only passion will put the blame on the Kaiser. . . . That this 'war lord' has for twenty-six years conscientiously watched over the peace of Germany and splendidly led her along all the paths of human labor ought to check

the hasty conclusion of at least those who pride themselves upon forming their opinions squarely on the facts." (1.)

James Westfall Thompson, professor of European history at the same institution, viciously attacked the British *White Book* in an elaborate attempt to show that it had been falsified in order to make Germany the culprit in the war (2). James G. McDonald, assistant professor of history in the University of Indiana, defended Germany's violations of international law, the invasion of Belgium, and the Belgian atrocities. Of the invasion of Belgium he said:

"This action is defensible both on the basis of the accepted theory of international relations—self-interest—and of that of the not infrequent practice of the great states of Europe. When to this defense we add the plea of absolute necessity—a plea made with the greatest sincerity by the German people—it is easy to understand why Germany felt no twinge of conscience when she invaded the neutral soil of Belgium." (3.)

Attempts to defeat preparedness

Of all Americans, Professor John W. Burgess of Columbia University, a historian and university dean who had been decorated by the Kaiser, made perhaps the most flagrant of all un-American statements (4). Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, associate professor of history at Columbia University, used his influence against compulsory military training and in a letter to the Senate Military Committee said: "It is un-American and inhuman. It will lead in time straight to war" (5, p. 559). Dr. Edward P. Cheyney, professor of European history in the University of Pennsylvania, made the journey to Washington in order to aid in defeating the Chamberlain Bill, and in his hearing before the committee said:

"Invasion has been almost unknown in history as a cause of war. No one of the wars in which our country has been engaged has been brought about by invasion" (5, p. 574). William I. Hull, professor of history and international relations at Swarthmore College, said before the same committee:

> "For us to resort to conscription and compulsory military training would be to prove recreant to our country's best traditions; and even worse, it would be to destroy the greatest opportunity which has ever come to any nation to induce the world to apply exclusively the judicial instead of the military method of settling disputes between nations" (5, p. 577).

Edward B. Krehbiel, professor of European history at Stanford University, and associate of Dr. Jordan in pacifist propaganda, in an address delivered at Columbia University, according to press reports "attacked the activities of the American Defense Society which he characterized as the propaganda of fear fostered by it and related organizations."

The above passages have been cited in order to indicate, in the light of what has since occurred, how a very considerable number of our American historians have falsely read the facts of history. There have, of course, been an even larger number in the profession who had clear vision, but the showing is none the less a reflection upon history scholarship.

Some Englishmen of clear vision

Some men there were in England who correctly read the signs of the times. Speaking in Albert Hall in 1900, Lord Salisbury called upon the British people to arm and prepare themselves for war, for a war which might be on them at any hour, a war for their very existence as a

nation and as a race. For eight years before the storm broke that great British soldier, Field Marshal Lord Roberts, went up and down the land sounding a clarion call to the nation to arm or perish, even though the Minister of State for War in the British Cabinet was joining in the general condemnation and threatening him with loss of his pension. Roberts's aide in this campaign was Frederick Scott Oliver, author of the life of Hamilton, and his *Ordeal by Battle* is perhaps the greatest book of the ante-bellum preparedness period. Mr. Kipling's solemn warning in *The Five Nations* fell upon deaf ears. One representative of the universities, the historian and erstwhile student of von Treitschke at Berlin, to rouse the nation to its peril delivered to a small but distinguished audience those remarkable lectures which, published soon after his death as Cramb's *Germany and England*, will long remain both a literary classic and a historical landmark.

Yet history must record that the feeble voice of the dying Cramb was completely drowned in the clamor of the British pacifists, and that the books embodying the fallacies of the arch pacifist, Norman Angell, were sold in editions seldom before equaled and translated and republished in almost every language of the known world (6). They set forth with much specious reasoning that wars could not again be waged because of inability to finance them, and attention was directed to the enviable position of Belgium—rich, prosperous, and unprepared for defense.

Warnings drowned by clamor of pacifists

While the British nation was thus being put to sleep by this powerful soporific, the American people were being drugged yet more effectively. The National Educational Association at recurring annual meetings

received fresh infections of poison through the addresses of Dr. David Starr Jordan, greatest of the false prophets in the intellectual field.

Jordan lauds Germany

Dr. Jordan is an authority on fish, and there is noticeable a certain fishy quality in all his writings upon the subject of peace. It has been said of Prussia on high authority that her chief industry is war, but Dr. Jordan in addressing the National Educational Association in 1910, on the subject of "War and Manhood," says of Germany that "she is 'military' but not 'warlike' " (7). Now Dr. Jordan goes on in his discussion to show that England and France have suffered in the past because they have been warlike, whereas the good Germany has reaped the natural reward of a peaceful disposition (7).

Jordan's delusions continued during war

With no contrition for having preached his false doctrines, we find Dr. Jordan at the annual meeting of the National Educational Association in 1915 taking for the subject of his presidential address the "Teacher and War" and rehearsing the same old platitudes (here extended over ten pages of text) that wars are to be deplored, and that they reduce the physical stock of the nations taking part in them (8). Nowhere is there recognition of the fact—and it is the only fact of real importance, since we are all agreed upon the other points—that a nation which does not desire war may yet be attacked without provocation or otherwise be forced into it. One does not need to have been president of a great university to know *now* that this great war has been forced upon a nation in the manner described, and by Jordan's "unwarlike" Germany. Every pupil in the first grade of school is aware of this, and it is therefore difficult to concede to Dr. Jordan

an honesty of purpose in continuing to preach his delusion, the more so as the German propagandists have looked upon him as a principal asset in their resources.

A pacifist barnstormer

While our educational system was thus being poisoned, in almost continuous performance upon the lecture platform, William Jennings Bryan, with ample mouth and powerful lungs, was thundering the praise of his favorite nostrums—his thirty peace treaties—German "scraps of paper"; his Bolshevik defense army of a million men grown mushroom-like over night—we have observed our army in France fighting with French artillery, French machine guns, tanks, and aeroplanes; and his plan to entice the German army into the interior of our country to be there overwhelmed by embattled farmers armed with pitchforks—we have observed the result of this plan in Russia and Roumania.

At the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, which was held in 1916, two full years after the terrible struggle had been launched in Europe and while we were looking on and refusing to bear our part, Mr. Bryan offered three reasons why we should not enter the conflict. They will ever remain sordid and contemptible, notwithstanding the cant in which they were paraded. These are his reasons:

Bryan's reasons for keeping out of war

"The first is that we cannot go into this war without imposing a very heavy burden upon a generation yet unborn, aye upon many generations. . . . If we judge the possibilities in regard to our expenses by what has already occurred in Europe, we must know that we cannot possibly take part in the war without contracting an enormous war debt. . . .

"In the second place no man can tell how many men

it would cost us. It has already cost them three million in killed, and nearly ten million in wounded. . . .

"The third objection is that we would forfeit an opportunity that never came to any other nation before, since time began. We are the greatest of the neutral nations; we are the one to which the world is looking to act as mediator when the time for mediation comes." (9.)

"Moral mush"

This ignoble and coldly calculating discussion of profit and loss, without so much as a suggestion that we may have a moral obligation or duty to perform, now merges into a flight of oratory in which we catch the expressions "lifting the world out of the black night" and "love and brotherhood," though Mr. Bryan's plan is as far removed from uplift as it is from love and brotherhood. But he has cast off his moorings and is now soaring and bellowing, "I crave that honor for our nation; more glorious than any page of history that has yet been written. This is the day for which the ages have been waiting," and other "moral mush" *ad nauseam*.

Champions of preparedness

To meet this wholesale propaganda of error the universities supplied in the earlier stages no outstanding figures to refute the arguments which were being put forward. Two sturdy champions there were in Colonel Roosevelt and General Leonard Wood, the former the vocalized conscience of the American people and the latter the Lord Roberts of the American preparedness movement; and in the House of Representatives, the Honorable Augustus P. Gardner early took up the fight against apathy and unbelief.

It will be profitable to inquire why the clear vision and courageous utterance which the nation had a right to expect from its own intellectuals, and espe-

cially from its university professors, was so sadly wanting in this crisis.

To me it has long seemed that our system of training in research, through its elevation into a fetich of the cult of open-mindedness, has in a measure taken from the student his power to evaluate, and the discernment, and even more the courage, necessary to arrive at a decision. Non-essentials have been magnified and hopelessly entangled with really vital considerations, and it is the exceptional man only who has been able to rise above the system and by penetrating through the accumulated rubbish of unessentials fix his attention unerringly upon the heart of the problem (9a). It is sometimes almost pitiful to observe in lectures this protracted balancing of unessentials without the ability to reach a decision, and the parading of it before the public as though it were a badge of distinction. This inability to arrive at decisions explains why so many business men have declared that too much education destroys initiative.

The cult of "open-mindedness"

In no small measure accountability for the blindness and apathy of American intellectuals in relation to the war must be charged to the literary and political review which for more than a generation has held the field practically unchallenged in the esteem of the American scholar. Admittedly of high literary merit—the firm basis of its hold upon the university professor—the New York *Nation* has consistently preached the doctrine of pacifism and been the determined foe of military preparedness. With the outbreak of the war the time seemed ripe for the launching of a political and literary weekly which should have the courage to face issues squarely and to lead in a forward movement based

Literary-political reviews pacifistic or neutral

upon a recognition of our responsibilities in a world where civilization was threatened with annihilation. The *New Republic*, with its flippant, self-satisfied air and its generally aimless rhetoric, has but aggravated the existing situation. An attack upon the pacifist suggestion of submission to Germany causes it fairly to sputter its disapproval, but by reversing the page one encounters again the normal complacency as in serio-comic vein the editor regrets the government's suppression of an abominably seditious publication. There was fiddling, or so it has been claimed, while Rome was burning. Late in the war has appeared *The Villager*, which, though of modest proportions, is ably edited, thoroughly American, and deserving the support of loyal citizens.

Oswald Garrison Villard

So offensive has been the pacifism of Oswald Garrison Villard, proprietor of the *Nation* and until recently of the New York *Evening Post*, that the editor of the former journal and the associate editor of the latter have both felt compelled to resign. When President Wilson, abandoning his policy of "peace without victory," declared himself for "force without stint," Mr. Villard, who is believed to have been at one time in close relations with the President, described the change of front as "disappointing." The New York *Times* has stated that Mr. Villard was also on terms of intimacy with the German Ambassador, and worked through him to prevent this country from entering the war, publishing from time to time in his papers what purported to be the personal views of Count von Bernstorff (10).

The changes wrought in mental attitudes due to the war, under clever German leadership, added a number of active recruits to the ranks of the ultra-pacifists.

In them the horrors of war produced no other reaction than a desire to stop bloodshed, wholly without reference to the question of righteousness involved or of disaster to the world. Most prominent of these pacifists were Jane Addams, Robert Marion La Follette, and Henry Ford. The influence of Miss Addams has naturally been very great among the women of the country, and the voice of Senator La Follette was heard not only in the American Congress and upon the American lecture platform, but it was carried across the ocean to give Europe a false index of American sentiment and feeling. Germany saw to it that La Follette's speeches were featured in the German press, and it has been reported by members of the American mission to Russia that the collapse of that great country and its present degradation through concluding a false peace, was promoted by La Follette's speeches utilized to deceive the ignorant Russian *moujiks*.

Later prophets of pacifism

The case of Henry Ford is so remarkable and his influence through the free use of his immense fortune has been so great, that it calls for special consideration. Of a very impressionable temperament and easily exploited through his abnormal penchant for peace vagaries, he was early selected by German agents as an easy mark for their intrigues. Bernard H. Ridder, editor of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, Jeremiah O'Leary, Sinn Feiner indicted for sedition, David Lamar, now serving a prison sentence as the lieutenant to the German head-spy, von Rintelen, Edward A. Rumely, and Madam Schwimmer, German agents; they were all among his advisers (11).

Henry Ford the dupe of Germany

The first important fruit of the efforts of these German agents, if Mr. Ford's contributions to the anti-

preparedness movement are not to be so credited, was the "peace argosy," already described, which sailed for Europe endorsed by "Labor's National Peace Council," a von Rintelen-Lamar product, but condemned and ridiculed by sane men everywhere.

The peace argosy

To indicate how effective Mr. Ford's activities have been in aiding the German cause, though doubtless unconsciously and as a dupe, it will be sufficient to cite a few of his doings in their chronological sequence. In September, 1915, he contributed one million dollars to defeat preparedness, and later he raised to ten million dollars his contributions for peace propaganda. In the same month he came out in open opposition to the United States loan to the Allies, thus making common cause with the Germans, and he was reported to have said that he would withdraw his deposits from any bank which subscribed to the loan.

Ford's principal anti-preparedness activities

In December, 1915, Mr. Ford had letters sent to every Senator and Representative in Congress urging them to inaugurate a campaign against patriotic songs, preparedness plays, and munition workers.

In February, 1916, Mr. Ford spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in the most colossal attempt which is upon record to influence the public by any one individual through the lavish use of money. He bought up whole pages of advertising space in newspapers and magazines of all political complexions and from one end of the country to the other, in which he printed false statements concerning the preparedness movement and instituted libels against the Navy League of the United States (11).

Ford libels the Navy League

In May of the same year Mr. Ford was reported in an interview to have declared that he did not believe either in patriotism or in the flag; and in October the Democratic National Headquarters announced that he would print advertisements in five hundred newspapers in order to advance Mr. Wilson's campaign for reëlection upon the ground that he had kept us out of the war.

Nearly a year after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Mr. Ford excused it upon the ground that Americans should have kept off the ship. The Navy League having sued him for his libelous charges printed throughout the country as advertisements, Mr. Ford found himself, when confronted in court, unable to substantiate his charges and tried to retire upon the lame excuse that he had believed them to be true. The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia thereupon sustained the Navy League in its demurrer (11).

Ford excuses "Lusitania" outrage

In July, 1918, Edward A. Rumely, owner of the New York *Evening Mail*, and for six years a close friend of Mr. Ford, became revealed as a secret paid agent of the German Government, and Mr. Ford now appears as having attempted to shield him from the authorities (12).

In all fairness it must be acknowledged that once the war was upon us, the pacifist element among the intellectuals drew comfort and support from the neutrality proclamation which enjoined upon the American people neutrality of thought as well as action. We may well consider the wise saying of Confucius coming to us over a stretch of twenty-five hundred years: "A wise man is impartial, not neutral; a fool is neutral but not impartial."

Influence of the Administration

Some months later (December, 1914), Mr. Wilson appeared before a joint session of Congress and declared that the nation was adequately prepared and that the causes of the war could not touch us. These blows fell most heavily upon the universities, of which thought is supposed to be in some sense a specialty and where the expression of it under ordinary circumstances is hampered by but few restrictions.

Restrictions by University boards

By presidents and governing boards at some institutions, professors were now forbidden to express themselves concerning the causes and issues of the war, or else to maintain a strictly neutral attitude. Was it in consequence of such injunctions that an address dealing with the causes of the war delivered by a distinguished professor of history elicited from a woman of notoriously German sympathies the comment, "it was fine, he balanced things so beautifully"? Could praise be more damning? We see the past centuries of British history carefully combed to gather incidents which might be thought to offset the barbarities of the modern Hun. We are confident that Britain's mistake in regard to the American colonies, when she was struggling under a German king to achieve her own independence of autocratic rule, was not overlooked by the speaker. It is highly probable also that he did not state to his audience that for the opportunity to address them he was indebted to England's fleet, long our bulwark against the enemy and at the moment blocking the German ports.

Pacifist literature

In order best to describe the character of defeatist books, which are an important asset to the German cause, I shall briefly mention one which is a discussion of peace terms and one of wholly

different character in the field of fiction. Professor Thorstein Veblen's *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation* professes to balance over against the other the relative advantages of accepting subjugation under a dynastic power like Germany, and on the other hand, resisting with consequent losses of life and property. The decision is given in favor of subjugation and slavery (13).

The most successful of all defeatist works of fiction is probably the brilliant *Le Feu* of Henri Barbusse, a book widely read in this country under the translated title of *Under Fire* (14). This book, which has had a phenomenal sale, was denounced by the sound press of Paris; and *Le Temps*, *L'Echo de Paris*, *Le Petits Parisien*, *La Victoire*, and other standard newspapers submitted protests to the censor for having passed it. The censorship was at the time under the care of Malvy, Caillaux's Minister of the Interior, who has since been on trial for treason. *L'Humanité*, a socialist-internationalist newspaper, and the *Bonnet Rouge* newspaper *Défaitiste* financed by Caillaux and Bolo Pasha, gave it high praise. The propaganda carried by *Le Feu* is insidious for the reason that it gives the impression of realism and represents the *poilu* as devoid of any higher virtues. It would hardly be possible to deny that squads of French soldiers like that of Corporal Bernard could be found in the French army and particularly among the territorials; but it is clear that it gives no proper picture of French army conditions, as has been well pointed out by many distinguished Frenchmen, and with especial force by Major Eckenfelder (15). Barbusse has since been editing an internationalist newspaper in Paris.

Many who were pacifists before the war have since

seen their error, and are now among the most patriotic of our American citizens; but with others their pacifism is in a state of suspended animation; and the vast majority have advanced only so far as to aver that this war must be won in order to end all wars—the old bogy which has cropped up in the case of practically every long and exhausting war in the course of human history. More ominous, however, they have learned nothing from their past errors concerning their own fallibility of judgment, and they now seem confident that they are to be the ones who alone are to constitute the council for settling terms of peace at the conclusion of the war, and with it the after-war problems.

Effect of the war on pacifists

Still other pacifists remained in *status quo* and were found ready to lend their aid to Germany by prattling of peace and demanding of the allied governments that they should declare their peace terms even more definitely, and at a time when, with the Huns still at large, all talk of peace was abhorrent. These offenders have seen to it that their speeches were timed in exact synchronism with the Kaiser's need of peace propaganda (16). They were ably seconded by many others distributed in the various allied countries, who were found urging that all hatred of the Hun be suppressed and that the Sermon on the Mount, literally interpreted, should be our guide in concluding terms of peace.

With the irruption of Bolshevikism, which is spreading from its Russian origins over Europe and crossing the Atlantic, the pacifists are flocking to its standard.

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XIV

" PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY "

"We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is obtained. Under God, I hope it will not end before that time."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, in reply to a proffered "peace without victory" between North and South.

"One is frequently asked whether France is tired of the war. In a sense she is, as is the whole world, including those who instigated it. But France has left others to prate of peace. Those waves of gray, helmeted men who twice have swept Northern France leaving a spume of blood on their inevitable retreat, have to reckon with a spiritual force which they neither understand nor consider at its proper value."—NINA L. DURYEA, September, 1918.

"Our aims are the same as President Wilson's. What he is longing for, we are fighting for, our sons and brothers are risking their lives for, and we mean to secure it."—Speech of ANDREW BONAR LAW of the British Cabinet on January 24, 1916, in reply to President Wilson's "Peace without Victory" message.

"Before the war one of our easy theories was that the devil was almost extinct—that he was only the child of misfortune or accident, and that we should abolish him by passing ringing resolutions against him. That has proved an expensive miscalculation. We find now that the devil is very much alive, and very much what he always was—that is to say, immensely industrious, a born organizer, and better at quoting Scripture for his own ends than most honest men. His industry and organization we all can deal with, but more difficult to handle is his habit of quoting Scripture as soon as he is in difficulties."—RUDYARD KIPLING, 1918.

THERE is much that is alluring about the catch-phrase "peace without victory," particularly to communities having the heritage of Christian teachings centered about the literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, with its doctrines of non-resistance and forgiveness of enemies. More than we realize, England and America could trace their pacifism to the literature of church and Sunday school instruction; for "peace without victory" is the very foundation of all our war-time pacifism. The part of the churches in Anglo-Saxon countries in unwittingly fostering pacifism is a story that has never been told, though in his *Atlantic* article with the expressive title "Peter Sat by the Fire Warming Himself," the Reverend Joseph H. Odell has supplied the introduction (1).

"Peace without Victory" an alluring catch-phrase

Were a permanent peace without victory at all possible, it would have much to recommend it; but I propose to show, what all history confirms, that peace without victory has always meant a breathing spell in which to prepare for a still greater conflict. What might perhaps be considered an exception to this rule—our war with England in 1812—is so in appearance rather than in fact, since all conditions of that conflict were abnormal. The United States had quite as much cause to be at war with France as with England, and that she was not actually fighting France is to be explained by her gratitude for French aid during the Revolutionary War, as well as by the rancor against England which still survived from that conflict. In fighting England she threw in her lot to aid the cause of autocracy against democracy in the great struggle of Napoleon for domination of Europe; and it was because England had that

Peace without victory merely temporary

far greater struggle upon her hands that she signed the Treaty of Ghent some two weeks before the battle of New Orleans was fought. Thus the only apparent exception to the general rule that a peace without victory is not permanent, is shown to be illusory.

Let us now consider for a moment the last great struggle for vast conquest as a guide to the one in which we are now engaged. After long years of exhausting war a peace without victory—the Peace of Amiens—was in 1802 duly concluded by Great Britain with Napoleon. This peace lasted less than fourteen months and was for Napoleon of the greatest advantage as a breathing opportunity. After the war had been resumed he rose to his greatest power, and it was another twelve years before he was decisively defeated in the crushing victory of Waterloo, though the battle of Leipsic marked the turning of the tide against him. Though Napoleon was crushingly defeated, the result has been lasting peace between France and England and now an alliance of these great democratic nations which carries rich promise for the future.

The "peace without victory" of Amiens

The American Civil War between North and South may further serve to enforce the lesson, for though it ended in victory which settled, we trust for all time, the issues at stake, the same efforts were made in high quarters to prevent this through an inconclusive peace, and it was only because Lincoln set himself like a rock against a peace without victory that these efforts failed of success. Horace Greeley, one of the most influential of the Copperheads, as Northern pacifists were then called, was the editor of the New York *Tribune*, the great exponent of public opinion in the North, which

Attempts at compromise during the Civil War

was disseminating the insidious poison of anti-war propaganda.

Napoleon III. would offer mediation

By a *coup d'état* executed by Napoleon III., France had gone back temporarily to an empire, and the autocrat and arch-conspirator, Napoleon the Little, was already at work plotting with Austria to defy the Monroe Doctrine through setting up a kingdom in Mexico. When the dark days of 1863 had come on, and before the tide had turned at Gettysburg, Napoleon determined to mediate for a compromise between North and South. It is only because of England's refusal to coöperate with him that he was, to quote his own language, "obliged to postpone to a more suitable opportunity the offer of mediation, the object of which was to stop the effusion of blood and to prevent the exhaustion of a country the future of which cannot be looked upon with indifference" (2, vol. viii., p. 266).

Considering their source, it is difficult to regard these beautiful sentiments as sincere, but they have been loudly applauded by American Copperheads. When at a later period mediation was actually offered, Lincoln's answer was decisive (3). "We accepted the war," he once declared, "for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will not end until that time."

Frederic Harrison's satire

In the London dispatches of January 26, 1917, Frederic Harrison gave out that there had been found in the archives of the United States an unpublished offer of mediation of our Civil War which came from the Emperor Dom Pedro of Brazil, the language of which was quite similar to that used by President Wilson in his "peace with-

out victory" note of December 31, 1916. According to this satire the Brazilian Emperor wrote:

"I speak in the name of humanity and the neutrals of South America, whose industry and commerce are seriously affected by this most unaccountable war between the states of North America. The Confederate States assure me they are quite ready to discuss terms of peace. . . . When the aggressive Federals can show the same attitude, peace will be made. It is inconceivable that the mighty state of which I am Emperor should have no part in that enterprise. . . . There must be peace, I say, without victory. . . . Both of you want the same object and neither of you can get all you want. . . .

"The foundation of peace is the equality of states whether they are slaveholding or not, and equality implies freedom. I speak for the friends of humanity in every nation. My voice is that of true liberty throughout the world. These are Brazilian principles, Brazilian policies and they are the sacred principles of mankind."

Mr. Harrison makes Lincoln say to his Secretary: "Take no notice of this hypocritical swagger. The devil might as well preach a sermon that the only Godly peace was to give men and nations free play to break the dead decalogue."

During the present war Germany has made skillful use of neutrals to advance her peace propaganda. In that remarkable series of revelations to Dr. Davis, the Kaiser's American dentist, this fact is made very clear. Shortly after the first unsuccessful peace note of the Kaiser —which was in reality no peace offer at all—Prince von Pless said to Dr. Davis, as we are told,

Teuton peace drives and their motive

"of course they refused it! . . . We knew they would refuse it! We wanted them to refuse it. If they hadn't

refused it, we would have made our terms so harsh that they would have had to refuse it. But it accomplished its purpose just the same; it got the French and English into hot water trying to explain to their people why they didn't make peace when Germany was willing to do so. In this way we may be able to split the Allies. Russia is going to quit anyway. There is going to be a revolution and we'll be able to throw all our forces on the Western Front and crush the enemy there." (4.)

This is not only in part good prophecy, but it is an excellent characterization of the Teuton peace methods taken collectively. Those who have played most effectively the Kaiser's hand in the peace game, have been in the earlier stages President Wilson and, somewhat later, in addition, His Holiness Pope Benedict XV.

On December 12, 1916, the Central Powers sent out the peace dove in the form of three notes. Of these, two were issued from Berlin, one of them addressed to the Entente Allies through the neutral nations, and the other to the Pope; the third came from Vienna and was addressed to the Entente allied nations. In the first of these, that from Berlin to the Entente allied nations, it is declared:

"The four allied powers [Central Powers] have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of their armies have in no way altered their purpose. . . .

"If in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation this struggle should go on, the four allied Powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history." (5.)

In the message to His Holiness it was further said:

"Certain of our own strength but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the Chancellor already has declared, a year ago, that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding." (5.)

Commenting upon these notes, which offered no program whatever, Premier Lloyd George stated with entire justice in a declaration made on December 19, 1916:

"The very speech resounds with the boast of the Prussian military triumph; the very appeal for peace was delivered ostentatiously from the triumphal chariot of Prussian militarism "(6).

Lloyd George's comment

A week after the German note, President Wilson on December 20, 1916, issued his first "peace without victory note," which held the balance so clearly in behalf of the German position that in transmitting it Secretary Lansing said:

President Wilson's peace note of December, 1916

"The suggestion which I am requested to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin. . . ." (7.)

The note goes on to say:

"In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world, the people and government of the United

States are as vitally and as directly interested as the governments now at war. Their interests, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or government.

"The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has already been said, stated their objects in general terms. But stated in general terms they seem the same on both sides." (7.)

In a communication to the Detroit *Free Press* made at the time, I offered the following criticism of this and other portions of the President's note, and I take the liberty of quoting from it here:

"I seethe with indignation as I read the language of Mr. Wilson as communicated by his Secretary of State. He (the President) takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their people and to the world. Are there then no principles involved and is the war, after all, nothing more than a selfish struggle to conquer territory?

The objects of Germany and her enemies the same according to Mr. Wilson

"Let any one who has read the correspondence which passed between the European chancelleries at the outbreak of war assert this, if he can; or let any one who has lived in France before the war and has taken note of the spirit almost of martyrdom of the French people, feeling sure that they were to meet an attack from Germany and believing that they must be crushed by it. Who can look back over the war and believe that anything other than an unexpected combination of favorable circumstances prevented the early elimination of France from the conflict?

"This was clearly and proudly predicted by German military writers before the war, and orders found upon

German prisoners prove conclusively that the plans of the German Great General Staff were made on this assumption.

"But the President continues in his note: 'Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful states now at war.' Do they indeed! Was it in pursuance of such noble ideals that Germany tore up her treaty and carried out the rape of Belgium, and is it upon the same humanitarian grounds that she is even now, while sending out the peace dove, deporting Belgian citizens for enforced military labor and drafting the Poles into her armies in contravention of The Hague Convention?

Germany would protect small states, claims Mr. Wilson

"After two years of the war, with an ultra-neutral heartlessness, Mr. Wilson declared before the League to Enforce Peace, 'With its [the war's] causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore.' . . .

We are not concerned with the war, claims Mr. Wilson

"Americans, I know, are accustomed to think that they live in a country where government rests with the people. Yet with perhaps nine-tenths of the American people in sympathy with the Allies it is possible for an American President to strike a blow in the interest of Germany which I believe future historians will rightly characterize as of the utmost seriousness in giving official sanction to Germany's contention and marked by an entire effacement of moral values." (8.)

A blow in the interest of Germany

After we had entered the war Mr. James M. Beck, in a public address, made the following comment upon the Wilson peace note and its consequences:

"When President Wilson attempted to bring about a 'peace without victory,' the United States reached the

lowest ebb of its influence. Exciting only contempt in the Central Powers, this abortive attempt to force a compromise of issues which admitted of no compromise had almost destroyed the last vestige of good will which the Allies had retained for the United States. Had the war then ended by some sudden and extraordinary reverse to the cause of the Allies and a 'peace without victory' thus resulted, the United States would have occupied not only a contemptible position in the eyes of civilization, but would have stood for many years to come in a position of the very greatest peril." (9.)

Comment of James M. Beck on the Wilson note

Eleven days after the promulgation of the peace note by Mr. Wilson, the allied governments issued their formal reply to Germany's overtures, from which the following extract is taken:

"Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their own peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere." (10.)

On January 10, 1917, the allied governments made their reply to President Wilson's peace note in which they reminded him that they had on various occasions made known in general terms their aims in the war, but added:

Reply of the allied governments to Mr. Wilson's note

"Their objects will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensation and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations" (11).

They then proceeded to rehearse with somewhat more of definiteness than before, the general principles for which they were fighting, and on the 17th of the

month they somewhat further amplified their statement in a new note to President Wilson (12).

The "Peace without Victory" message to Congress

On January 22, 1917, with the barest notification for Senate and House to meet in joint session to hear a message from the President, Mr. Wilson appeared before them and read his appeal for the twin doctrines of "peace without victory" and "freedom of the seas." Said the President:

"The statesmen of both of the groups of nations, now arrayed against one another, have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonist. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all. . . .

"They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit." (13.)

One can scarcely believe that these sentiments were expressed by a historian of reputation and in the year 1917.

Three days after Mr. Wilson delivered his peace message to Congress, he was answered by Representa-

tive Augustus P. Gardner of Massachusetts, pioneer of preparedness, who upon our entering the war surrendered his seat in Congress in order to join the colors, and who has already paid "the last full measure of devotion" to his country. I shall always account it my good fortune to have heard this rather remarkable address by Mr. Gardner, which was delivered before the Congress of Constructive Patriotism of the National Security League held in the city of Washington. I believe this address gives the first clear statement of the issue between democracy and autocracy, later made use of (first on April 2d) with such telling effect by Mr. Wilson. Said Mr. Gardner:

Representative Gardner's reply

"You cannot have a lasting peace in Europe until the fundamental question at issue is settled. The irrepressible conflict is there. Either autocracy or democracy must go down in ruins, before we can have lasting peace. In the small compass of Europe, there can no longer be the two systems existing side by side; one or the other must go down, and God help us if we hold the scales of neutrality with such nicety that we incline them toward autocracy's side." (14.)

Mr. Wilson charges that statements by allied statesmen imply "peace without victory"

In his message to Congress, Mr. Wilson even went so far as to say that the assurances of the statesmen upon both sides in the conflict had implied a peace not secured by victory. To this claim I made comment a few days later in a communication printed in the New York *Tribune* in which I said:

"Is it possible that the President has not read the answer of the Allies to his own Peace Note, which concludes with the declaration: 'The Allies are determined, individually

and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which they are convinced not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself.'" (15.)

Fortunately for us all and for the world, President Wilson has now, we hope for all time, left these notions of an inconclusive peace behind him (16); and, master of style as he is, he has given us some of the most brilliant state papers from a literary standpoint that exist anywhere in the world. The laws of nature are, however, inexorable, and mischief once done is never retrieved; so that I cannot wholly agree with Mr. James M. Beck, that brilliant and intensely ardent American patriot, when he says:

Mr. Wilson's awakening

"There are phrases and phrases. 'Too proud to fight' was, we will now all agree, a deadly phrase. It not only humiliated this nation in the eyes of the world, but it sapped the spirit of the people by presenting to them a false pacificism. An even deadlier phrase was 'Peace without Victory' which sowed the seeds of disintegration not only in Russia, but in the peoples of its allies. These unfortunate platitudes may well be forgotten in the later utterances of the President when in felicitous language he held up to the American people the great ideal of justice."

Mr. Wilson did, however, continue to keep the discussion of peace before the world by outlining peace terms supposed to be satisfactory to the allied nations, first expressed in fourteen points and later in five principles; and though he never again openly advocated in definite terms a peace without victory, it should be sufficiently obvious that any discussion of peace does infinite harm until our objects in the war have been obtained.

Germany's plans for a peace without victory were, in the middle of August, 1917, again put forward by the Vatican. The unfortunate aspect of these overtures, which outlined a program, was that Germany in no way obligated herself by what His Holiness put forth. His terms purported to offer peace on the basis of restitution of Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania, with a "peaceful solution" of Alsace-Lorraine, Trent, Trieste, and Poland. There were to be no annexations or indemnities except for Belgium and Serbia. German colonies were to be returned in exchange for the occupied portions of France. "Freedom of the Seas" and disarmament were however insisted upon (17).

The Vatican sends out peace dove

The situation precipitated by this pronouncement by the Pontiff of the Catholic Hierarchy, was a most delicate one, since it threatened to arouse sensibilities based on deep religious feeling.

Without going into any discussion of terms, but merely calling attention to the obvious fact that Germany could not be trusted, and hence no terms of peace could even be considered, President Wilson made reply to His Holiness. This was a very wise disposition of the matter, and with this disposition of it it is hoped that the discussion of inconclusive peace through exchange of notes or in messages by rulers, has come to an end (18).

Mr. Wilson's reply to the Pope

Says a recent writer in one of the best summary statements that has been put out:

"One and all we desire nothing more than to see the end of this nightmare, but anyone who, in this or the allied countries raises his voice to support the conclusion of peace on conditions other than such as would make it impossible for the Central Powers to renew their attempts to subjugate

the world, to Germanize it, and trample it under the heel of a military despotism—in other words, anyone who advocates a 'Peace without Victory,' is either wholly incapable of realizing the issues at stake or he is the enemy's accomplice. Unconsciously or consciously he is working for his own damnation, and what is worse, for the damnation of those who come after." (19.)

We may fittingly conclude this lecture by citing from the public declaration made in 1917 by a group of distinguished American religious leaders:

No false peace

"We need to be reminded that peace is the triumph of righteousness and not the mere sheathing of the sword. To clamor for an ending of the present war without insuring the vindication of truth, justice, and honor, is not to seek peace but to sow disaster.

"We feel impelled to warn our brethren against those who cry, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace. The just God, who withheld not his own son from the cross, would not look with favor upon a people who put their fear of pain and death, their dread of suffering and loss, their concern for comfort and ease, above the holy claims of righteousness and justice and freedom and mercy and truth. Much as we mourn the blood shed in Europe, we lament even more that supineness of spirit, that indifference to spiritual values, which would let mere physical safety take precedence of loyalty to truth and duty. The memory of all the saints and martyrs cries out against such backsliding of mankind. Sad is our lot if we have forgotten how to die for a holy cause.

"We solemnly declare to you our conviction that the question of all questions for our immediate consideration is this: *Shall the ancient Christian inheritance of loyalty to great and divine ideals be replaced by considerations of mere expediency* (20)."

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XV

THE "FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

"Freedom depends on the freedom of the seas, and freedom of the seas depends on the liberation of Ireland."—COUNT ZU REVENTLOW, editor of the principal Pan-German organ in Berlin.

"Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of the route to the southeast. And these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England."—Imperial Chancellor MICHAELIS of Germany in secret memorandum to Austria.

"They [the Germans] fight the good fight for the freedom of the seas, for the freedom of nations. Their victory is the true hope of civilization itself."—DR. EUGEN KUHNEMANN, the Kaiser's special representative in America for propaganda purposes.

"You dare to say with perjured lips:
'We fight to make the ocean free'—
You whose black trail of butchered ships
Bestrews the bed of every sea
Where German submarines have wrought
Their horrors! Have you never thought
What you call freedom men call piracy?"

Mare Liberum, by HENRY VAN DYKE,
U. S. Minister at The Hague.

"The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace. . . . These [peace without victory and freedom of the seas] are American principles and American policies. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."—PRESIDENT WILSON in address to the United States Congress, on January 22, 1917.

THE doctrine of the freedom of the seas originated with Hugo Grotius, the founder of international law, who in 1608 brought out anonymously his *Mare Liberum*. The doctrine of rightful control of the sea was set forth by John Selden in 1635 in his *Mare Clausum*, so that Grotius and Selden came to be regarded as the fathers of the respective doctrines of freedom of the seas and of rightful control of them (1, p. 536).

Origin of the doctrine

Since the days of Grotius many volumes have been written to cover the several phases of this interesting but complicated question; such, for example, as blockade, contraband, and privateering. It has remained for Mr. Arthur D. Howden Smith in his unconsciously humorous biographical work entitled *The Real Col. House* to point out that the one and only originator of the expression, "The Freedom of the Seas," is, "so far as can be determined," his hero, adding by way of confirmation, "no previous mention of it has yet been found" (2, 3).

Notwithstanding the many ramifications of the larger question involved in the freedom of the seas both in peace and in war, we are not called upon to enter here upon their discussion, since the expression has been used by Germany during the present war as an alluring ready-made catch-phrase to stir up latent hostility against Great Britain because of her blockade of the German Empire. It is Britannia, who according to the popular expression "rules the wave"; and inasmuch as England has since Nelson's great victory off Trafalgar been the undisputed Mistress of the Seas now for more than a century, it is chiefly pertinent for us to inquire what measure of freedom of the seas she has permitted.

Now a catch-phrase directed against England

Obviously the question of the freedom of the seas must be considered, on the one hand, for times of peace, and on the other, for war conditions. It cannot be denied that in the now remote past Great Britain has not been free from blame for imposing unjustified hardships upon her neighbors through the compulsion of her fleets; but, on the other hand, it cannot justly be claimed that within the last century she has used her control of the sea to the disadvantage of her neighbors, save only as her naval supremacy has inevitably given weight to her counsels in negotiation, exactly as have under like circumstances the armies of her rivals.

Freedom of seas in peace and in war

Least of all has Germany the right to complain, inasmuch as England has permitted her to develop a great navy and merchant marine with the but thinly veiled purpose to rob England of her trade and, so soon as the time is ripe, to destroy both Britain's sea power and her independence as a sovereign state. Germany has even been allowed to trade without any restrictions whatever in the British colonies, where by underground as well as by legitimate methods she has robbed the mother country of her markets; and all the while upon every ship of the German navy the last toast at dinner has been "To the Day"—the day of the defeat and annihilation of the British navy.

To "The Day"

The Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd Steamship lines, exercising their special privileges under the peculiar German *cartel* system, have offered their patrons in the trans-Atlantic service inducements which the English lines, somewhat hampered by traditions, have not been able to meet; and year after year the German lines have prospered at the

expense of the British in the lucrative tourist business as well as in freight traffic.

Germany's plans to destroy her rival having been so clearly indicated, it has been frequently suggested to Great Britain that her safety has required that she smash the German fleet before it be grown too formidable. But Britain is not governed by a war lord—with her parliamentary government such an issue has been practically out of the question. The opportunity to destroy the German fleet has been offered England had her methods been other than what they are.

Baiting of England

Since Germany has in peace time enjoyed absolute freedom of the seas, and has been permitted without any restraint whatever not only to conduct legitimate trade but to carry out bold conspiracies against her neighbor; we must interpret her insistent and vociferous demand for the freedom of the seas as applying to war conditions. This is almost equivalent to saying that England must give up her navy and thus leave herself open to attack.

Germany has freedom of the seas during peace

But says Admiral Mahan:

"For what purposes, primarily, do navies exist? Surely not merely to fight one another—to gain what Jomini calls 'the sterile glory' of fighting battles in order to win them. If navies, as all agree, exist for the protection of commerce, it inevitably follows that in war they must aim at depriving their enemy of that great resource; nor is it easy to conceive what broad military use they can subserve that at all compares with the protection and destruction of trade." (4, p. 128.)

In a pamphlet widely circulated among German-Americans for propaganda purposes, Professor Eugen

Kuehnemann, the Kaiser's special envoy to the United States for propaganda purposes in succession to Dr. Dernberg, has in a pamphlet entitled *Deutschland, Amerika und der Krieg* presented an alluring picture of that millennium which is to come after England's control of the seas has been wrested from her. I have translated the following portions:

Germany's definition of her aims

"Let but Germany conquer in this war, then France, England, and Russia will be held back forever from their desires to attack Germany. There would therefore be peace in Europe. . . . The evolution of the German democracy, which is a matter of the last decade, would come to fruition. . . . The English pretension to world domination would encounter the unconquerable resistance of the German fleet. There would be found upon the European continent an upright friend of America; for the German fleet together with the American fleet would in equal rank hold the balance of power upon the sea against England. The time of world empire would be past; the time of the independent, strong free peoples would begin; and now the possibility would be created for the evolution of new kinds of activity in which free peoples would peacefully and independently work together for the common aims of humanity. Such forms of activity are impossible so long as law upon the sea is rendered null and void at the will of a Power like England. . . .

Germany desired freedom of the seas to make the world a "Home of Freedom"

"Germany is not a world empire. It simply asserts its right to exist. Any conflict between Germany and America is not to be thought of. Germany is conducting this war for the independence of the nations and for the freedom of the seas. The German might is being exerted in this war for these ideas of independence, and it is therefore a struggle for the highest interests of civilization. The English struggle is for English

world empire, the Russian for a Russian world empire, the French for revenge and to regain the old French splendor. They all want to destroy Germany, which came last into the race for territory and because of its virtue is such a burden to them, and by its mere existence stands in the way of the destructive plans of the world powers. The German war of 1914–15 is the grander continuation of the American war for independence. Just as America against English usurpation made its part of the world into a new home of freedom, so is Germany against Russian and English usurpation to make the world into a home of freedom.

German victory to "conserve civilization"

"Never was there a better cause; never in a war was there a clearer conscience. The victory of Germany is in the interest of the independent nations. It is in the interest of civilization, and in the interest of America."

After a three-page-long defense of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the pamphlet concludes with these heroics: "They [the Germans] fight the good fight for the freedom of the seas, for the freedom of nations. Their victory is the true hope of civilization itself." (5.)

England's existence dependent on sea supremacy

The course of the present war has supplied a new and forceful demonstration that England's independent existence rests upon her ability to maintain control of the sea. Unable to nourish her population from her own soil, it has been the prime object of the German submarine campaign to cut the life-line which the British navy has maintained with the world's granaries. It has been fully realized on both sides that once this line should be severed, Britain's doom would be sealed; and every other consideration has been made subordinate to the

one object, of Germany to destroy England's commerce, and of Britain to conserve it.

Militarism versus "navalism"

Germany standing before the world, despite Dr. Jordan's claim that she is unwarlike, as the great exemplar of militarism, it has been her contention that "navalism" is just as great a menace to the world. Inasmuch as all history proves the compelling power of sea control, it is well to examine this doctrine.

Naval power, while it may be exerted against rival naval power, has a range of action which ceases at the shore, save only when backed by superior military power. Though powerful for defense, it is all but powerless for successful offense against well defended coast fortifications. Its most important function, and it is against this which Germany's propaganda is chiefly directed, is strangulation through blockade, but this function happily becomes effective only gradually, so that the possibility of dangerous sudden strokes against an unprepared enemy is at least minimized.

Britain's sea power in this war

With an understanding of Teuton psychology, it is easy to comprehend that mental attitude which cries so vociferously for freedom of the seas. Germany well knows, as the world apparently does not, what the supremacy of the British navy has meant to the Allies during this war. The world generally comprehends that, except for the submarines, defying as they have all laws of warfare, Germany's war and merchant ships alike were early destroyed or driven from the sea; and, if interned in neutral ports, they have later been largely taken over by her enemies.

It has, on the other hand, been only partially real-

ized what the blockade of the Central Powers has meant to Germany, even with the small neutral nations upon her borders cowed by the mailed fist into being her purveyors, in so far as the Allies have either permitted this or been unable to prevent it.

The grip of the blockade

It is because the compulsion of sea power is exerted slowly and silently that it fails to impress those who are not held in its grip. By no one has this impelling influence of control of the sea exerted through blockade been so convincingly set forth as by our own Admiral Mahan, the greatest of all authorities upon sea power, in his masterful description of the condition of France after the destruction of her fleet at the battle of Trafalgar. Says Mahan:

"Amid all the pomp and circumstance of the war, which for ten years to come desolated the continent, amid all the tramping to and fro over Europe by the French armies and their auxiliary legions, there went on unceasingly the noiseless pressure upon the vitals of France—that compulsion, whose silence, when once noted, becomes to the observer the most striking and awful mark of the working of sea power."

It is a dread of the compelling power of blockade which runs through all German writings on *Weltpolitik*—the dread of the British fleet in opposing German ambitions for the hegemony of Europe (6).

Naval disarmament a menace

Closely associated with the German interpretation of freedom of the seas is that of naval disarmament, and among the pacifists of other nations this peculiar propaganda is fostered by Germany, though it is not permitted in the Fatherland. As must be clear to any student of history, sea power

has more than once saved the world from military conquerors. This has been true in the days of Charlemagne, Charles V., Philip II., Louis XIV., and Napoleon I. If the advocates of freedom of the seas do not succeed in deluding the world, a new and notable instance is promised in the case of William II. Every diminution of sea power of necessity increases the importance of armies. Says Archibald Hurd, the well-known authority on naval topics:

"The Germans, strategically at the disadvantage in a geographical sense, believe that if they can prevail on the nations to limit the use of sea power, they can secure world domination for their armies. There is no country which they could not invade from the sea—England, France, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Spain among the European Powers, and on the other side of the Atlantic the American republics. Their propaganda against 'navalism' is intended to facilitate oversea expeditions. Their fleet having failed to place 'the trident in our fist,' let navies be shorn of their value, and then the peoples of the world will neglect them and there will be no obstacle to the progress of *Weltpolitik*. That is their thought." (7, p. 9.)

Protection of the French coasts

But the imposition of the blockade upon Germany does not tell the full story of what the British fleet has accomplished in this world war. Few have correctly interpreted the significance of two actions taken by Great Britain just before the outbreak of the war. The British First Fleet had been at battle maneuvers in the summer of 1914, and would have been dispersed at their close but for the action taken by Winston Churchill, the then First Lord of the Admiralty. Entirely upon his own initiative and because of the menace of the world situation, he did not issue the order for demobilization,

a brave act for a minister to take, since it would have wrecked his political career had not events so clearly justified it that it was later confirmed by the Cabinet. Through his bold initiative arose one of those circumstances which cannot be foreseen and provided against by an enemy, and it is one which had much to do with the breakdown of Germany's plans. On July 27, 1914, M. de Fleuriau, French Chargé d'Affaires at London, telegraphed to his government:

"The attitude of Great Britain is confirmed by the postponement of the demobilization of the fleet. The First Lord of the Admiralty took this measure quietly on Friday on his own initiative; to-night, Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues decided to make it public." (8, p. 187.)

On the same day Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg to dispel the notion that England would stand aside in the impending war. Said he:

"This impression ought, as I have pointed out, to be dispelled by the orders we have given to the First Fleet, which is concentrated, as it happens, at Portland, not to disperse for maneuver leave." (8, p. 41.)

It was this first bold action by Winston Churchill, afterwards confirmed, which made possible a second taken by the Cabinet, an act which was fraught with vast consequences. On August 2d after the meeting of the British Cabinet, M. Paul Cambon, French Ambassador at London, sent the following message to his government; a message which can have had few parallels in history for its heartening effect upon a nation at a great crisis trembling lest without aid it was to be crushed by its adversary. The message read:

"I am authorized to give an assurance that, if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power." (8, p. 235.)

This simply worded message carried with it the whole naval power of Great Britain and, best of all, France knew that a British promise once given was not a "scrap of paper." It was this protection of her coasts which prevented the destruction of French shipping, the closing of her harbors, and the landing of German flanking expeditions to disperse and weaken the French military forces. Without it France could not long have held out; for it was this protection of her frontiers on north, west, and south, combined with that to the southeast, afforded by the welcome assurance of Italian neutrality (9), that alone made possible the early victory of the Marne. Said M. Viviani in reporting the message of M. Cambon to the French Chamber of Deputies:

"From now onwards, the British fleet protects our northern and western coasts against a German attack. Gentlemen, these are the facts. I believe that a simple recital of them is sufficient to justify the acts of the government of the Republic." (8, p. 262.)

German versus British sea supremacy

Since it is clear that Germany's insistent demand for freedom of the seas would, if conceded and insured, result in a substitution of German for British control of sea communications, what effect might such a substitution be supposed to have upon the welfare of nations? To ask the question is to answer it, now that the world

has been permitted to read German aims and motives as in an open book. The advantage of a war lord in control of the state, measured by purely military considerations, is that decisions can be made and action taken overnight, so to speak, and without any restraint imposed by the people; and extensive preparations can be carried out secretly even though they involve vast treasure and require a long time for their completion. In a democratic state governed by a parliament, no such measures could be carried out. Even though the safeguarding of Belgian neutrality had been the very basis of British policy throughout centuries, Sir Edward Grey, in transmitting to the French Ambassador the promise of the coöperation of the British fleet, felt obliged to add to his message:

"This assurance is of course subject to the policy of His Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament, and it must not be taken as binding His Majesty's Government to take any action until the above contingency of action by the German fleet takes place." (8, p. 235.)

Ambassador Cambon added in his report to his government:

"The protection of Belgian neutrality is here considered so important that Great Britain will regard its violation by Germany as a *casus belli*. It is especially British interest and there is no doubt that the British Government, faithful to the traditions of their policy, will insist upon it, even if the business world, in which German influence is making tenacious efforts, exercises pressure to prevent the government committing itself against Germany." (8, p. 235.)

The history of sea power shows us that, before the period of British naval supremacy, the seas of the world were not free to the nations even in times of peace. In 1493, when the Papacy was the supreme arbiter in international affairs, a practical monopoly of the seas was given to Spain and Portugal, then in the heyday of their sea power, and for a century thereafter the ships of other nations ventured to sea only at their peril. This domination of the sea in times of peace was broken with the destruction of the Spanish Armada, though the Dutch supremacy upon the sea succeeded to the Spanish, and still retained a monopoly in sea trade over all waters east of the Straits of Malacca. After the victories of the British navy over that of the Dutch in the seventeenth century, the open seas of the world have been available for the ships of all nations alike, and it may fairly be said that the era of the freedom of the seas in time of peace is thus coincident with that of British naval supremacy (10, p. 1).

Freedom of the seas in peace came in with British naval supremacy

Though there was freedom to use the seas during the early British supremacy, Americans familiar with their country's history are well aware that there were some very irritating and unjust exactions imposed upon the merchantmen of rival nations up to the early part of the nineteenth century. The impressment of American seamen into the British service, though in part justified by the harboring of British deserters and slackers on American vessels, was the cause of our second war with Great Britain. The former British exaction of a salute to the King's ships, which had been a time-honored custom, was, however, voluntarily abandoned at the close of the Napoleonic wars, when

British sea power was at its zenith and undisputed. Says Professor Reeves:

"That England has at times used her sea power arrogantly no American is apt to deny. At the same time, to the securing of what freedom the seas possessed in the century between 1814 and 1914, while her sea power was undisputed, England made the principal contribution. The oceans have been policed, the slave-trade destroyed, non-belligerent visitation and search repudiated, impressment of alien seamen surrendered, trade and navigation made free. Notwithstanding Britain's power, the international commerce and carrying trade of other nations increased to the point of successful rivalry. What would strike at these things is miscalled the freedom of the seas. The infamous misdeeds of the submarine have made less for the freedom of the seas than did the guillotine for liberty. The guillotine at least gave warning before it struck, and its purveyors spared innocent and helpless children." (1, p. 543.)

British free trade and freedom of the seas

The fact that Great Britain has not misused her control of the seas to break up the commerce of her neighbors, is no doubt in some measure to be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon ideals of fair play. It is perhaps quite as much to be explained, however, by the fact that as the one great Power which had adopted the policy of free trade, England has seen no advantage to her national prosperity in ruining her trade rivals, who must also be her customers. Were the seas to fall under the domination of a nation which aims to build up its state upon the destruction of its rivals, there is little reason to doubt that the *mare clausum* in peace times which prevailed in earlier centuries would once more become a *fait accompli.*

But why should we develop this subject at such length? Are not all the allied nations agreed that destruction of Britain's naval power, either through a forced disarmament or through making safe the transit of the enemy's goods at sea in time of war, would actually favor Germany's fortunes and bring disaster to the cause of the Allies? It is because of this that the freedom of the seas has been throughout one of Germany's principal peace terms, and one which will unquestionably be put forward at the peace council. Most unfortunate of all, in defiance of every sound opinion represented in the allied countries, Mr. Wilson in his "peace without victory" message to Congress has echoed Germany's cry for the freedom of the seas. Said the President:

President Wilson an advocate of the German policy

"And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and coöperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed *free and common in practically all circumstances* for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.

German policy advocated in message to Congress

"The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and development. It need not be difficult to find or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

"It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the coöperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas of the world free and safe." (11.)

Mr. Wilson goes on to say that peace without victory and freedom of the seas are both of them "American principles and American policies." We need not take time to refute this claim concerning peace without victory, since the President himself appears now to have repudiated it; but it is evident that the freedom of the seas is still advocated by the President, by his one confidential adviser, Colonel House (2), and his director of the official press bureau, George Creel (12).

Mr. Wilson declares the German policy an American one

It is indeed true that the blockade of the American colonies during the Revolutionary War, and of the States during the War of 1812, gave an early trend to American public sentiment against the power of blockade exercised by Great Britain. But this policy was later entirely repudiated, and during both the American Civil War and the Spanish War it was the blockade by naval power, in the first instance of the Confederate States and in the second of the Spanish colonies, which brought victory to the American arms. These facts are so self-evident that they should be known to every schoolboy, and one is astounded by the evidence that Germany's and America's policies respecting the freedom of the seas are the same.

Says Admiral Mahan of sea blockade:

"Blows at commerce are blows at the communications of the state; they intercept its nourishment, they starve its life, they cut the roots of its power, the sinews of its war. While war remains a factor, a sad but inevitable factor of our history, it is a fond hope that commerce can be exempt from its operation because in very truth blows against commerce are the most deadly that can be struck; nor is there any other among the proposed uses of a navy, as for instance the bombardment of seaport towns, which

is not at once more cruel and less scientific. Blockade such as that enforced by the United States Navy during the Civil War, is evidently only a special phase of commerce-destroying; yet how immense—nay, decisive—its results." (4, p. 133.)

But the President goes still further and says that peace without victory and freedom of the seas "are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail" (11). For the future welfare of the world let us pray that the President has here misjudged both the nation's traditions and the American people.

Colonel House the exponent of Mr. Wilson's policy

That Colonel House, the President's confidential adviser and his secret political envoy to European courts, is the real exponent of the President's policy of freedom of the seas, is proven by the chapter upon the Freedom of the Seas in the inspired biography of Colonel House which appeared in the spring of 1918 in the columns of the New York *Evening Post* and has since been issued in book form (2). According to this biography, Colonel House in the spring of 1915 traveled as the President's special political envoy from one European chancellery to another, moving majestically and dispensing the veriest pearls of wisdom to trained European statesmen with lifetimes of diplomatic experience behind them, and doing it all with the gracious air of a prince bestowing a gold-piece upon a lackey. Says a critic in commenting upon it, "There rise instinctively to mind, in reverence and in awe, the words of Browning, 'Is it God?' Surely this cannot be a

mere man, a mortal man. . . . Not even a Superman could be so wise, so great, so strong" (13).

At the German chancellery Colonel House actually offered the freedom of the seas, and later in England the affront of requesting that Britain deliver herself over to her enemy by accepting the doctrine. The biography tells its own story and should not be modified by one jot or tittle. According to his faithful Boswell, Colonel House undertook to argue with the German officials at the Foreign Office with this result:

House offers Germany relief from blockade

"They gave him fair words, but no satisfaction, until he extended, as a fisherman casts his bait, a certain phrase of five words: 'The Freedom of the Seas.' . . . It met with prompt response.

"'Ah,' said the German statesmen, 'you mean the general recognition of the Declaration of London?'

"But Colonel House meant much more than this. He meant a literal, unlimited freedom of the seas, which would imply the safety of merchantmen in enemy ports upon the declaration of war, the safety not only of food cargoes, but cargoes of actual contraband; the uninterrupted progress of the world's ocean-borne commerce, in the midst of the most widely dispersed war. (2, 188.)

There follows upon this a specious forecast of the effect of such a policy:

"Accepted by the belligerent nations, it would have the immediate result of confining the war to a struggle between fleets and armies and exempting from harm non-combatants and neutral nations, while the economic structure of civilization would survive almost unimpaired. . . .

" 'But for what would navies be used then?' demanded the Germans.

" 'For defense against invasion,' returned Colonel House.

"A vista opened before the eyes of the leaders at Berlin which they had abandoned hope of seeing. Perhaps they were purely selfish and cynical in their acceptance of this doctrine of idealism; perhaps they thought only of the nullification of the preponderating naval power of Great Britain, and the abolition of the blockade which was cutting off Germany from her sources of raw material. But Colonel House saw much farther than they did. . . .

"At any rate the immediate effect of his suggestion of the doctrine in Berlin was to obtain the prompt and enthusiastic assent of Germany. 'I believe you have thrown the first thread across the chasm which bars us from peace,' said one of the greatest men in Germany.

Germany accepts House offer

"Having achieved his purpose in Berlin, Colonel House returned to London to take up the far more arduous task of arguing the British leaders into an appreciation of the advantages which would accrue to them from accepting the new idea. Imagine his vexation, when, upon his arrival in London, he encountered reports in the English newspapers of boastful speeches in favor of 'the freedom of the seas,' as he had outlined it, which had been delivered in the United States by Ambassador von Bernstorff and Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, the former German Colonial Secretary and chief propagandist in America. The first act of the German Government after Colonel House outlined his doctrine had been to cable instructions to their agents in the United States to bolster it by a vigorous campaign of propaganda. . . .

"Colonel House had the utmost difficulty in breaking down the wall of natural suspicion which met him at every turn when he undertook to preach his doctrine. . . .

House offers "Freedom of Seas" to England

" 'What do you mean by it?' they would say. 'The freedom of the seas? Is not that what England has always fought for since the days of the Armada? Is not that what

the British navy is maintained for? Or do you mean that we should surrender our coaling stations and ports and colonies which are open to all the nations of the world as well as to our own shipping?'

"In fact, despite all the opposition which his suggestion encountered. . . . Colonel House's efforts soon bore fruit. . . . But in the moment of fruition Colonel House's plans were destroyed by the news that the *Lusitania* had been sunk. . . . By that deed Germany ruined the promising chances of escape from the British blockade which Colonel House had offered her. There was nothing for him to do but return home." (2, p. 190.)

Is there anything in humorous fiction to compare with this Odyssey of Colonel House in which he offers to Germany a relief from the British blockade through England's adoption of his "novel" policy of the freedom of the seas, endeavors to induce England to accept the policy, and then having all lost through the untimely destruction of the *Lusitania?*

But comedy is here subordinated to the tragedy of the situation. Due to this fortunate revelation by the modern Boswell, we now know some lines of modern history which would else be veiled from us. The offer by Colonel House to the German Government of "freedom of the seas" in the grossest form in which this policy had been conceived by Germany, now appears revealed as the common origin of the propaganda in its favor which was disseminated by von Bernstorff, Dernberg, and Kuehnemann on the one hand, and of Mr. Wilson's address to Congress on the other. Says Dr. Kuehnemann:

"The German war of 1914–1915 is the grander continuation of the American War for Independence. Just as

America against English usurpation made its part of the world into a new home of freedom, so is Germany against Russian and English usurpation to make the world into a home of freedom. . . . The victory of Germany is in the interest of the independent nations. It is in the interest of civilization and in the interest of America. . . . They [the Germans] fight the good fight for the freedom of the seas, for the freedom of nations, their victory is the true hope of civilization itself." (5.)

Comparison of German and American interpretations

Says President Wilson:

"The freedom of the seas the *sine qua non* of peace, equality and coöperation. . . . These are American principles and American policies and they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail." (11.)

As regards "freedom of the seas," the late Admiral Mahan of the United States Navy says in his *The Interest of America in Sea-power, Present and Future:* "It is a fair deduction from analogy that two contending armies might as well agree to respect each other's communications as two belligerent states to guarantee immunity to hostile commerce."

Even though it is necessary to take issue with the President of the United States, I must assert that neither peace without victory nor freedom of the seas is American policy. If either of them seems to be so to-day, it is only because of what happened on the 22d of January, 1917. Upon that date, the two Houses of the American Congress were engaged in deliberations according to their

Secret diplomacy and personal government

regular programs. Suddenly, without previous warning, a message from the White House is handed to the presiding officers, their gavels halt proceedings, and announcement is made that the Congress will immediately assemble in joint session to listen to a message from the President. Reviving the ancient custom of royalty in delivering a "Speech from the Throne," a custom long since abandoned in our Congress, the President makes his appearance and, mounting the rostrum, delivers the twin doctrines of "peace without victory" and "freedom of the seas."

While our lawmakers are still gasping with astonishment, and the faithful are beginning to voice their praises, the President disappears, enters his car and returns to the White House. The press has already been provided with copy to be released at this moment, and the ocean cables, already cleared, are busy carrying the new American doctrines to every part of the civilized world. And the world literally halts as it reads the message in astonishment.

The newspapers of Germany again exhibiting that "German stupidity" of which Colonel House complains so bitterly, are more than exultant. Count von Bernstorff, once more conveniently forgetting that established custom requires an ambassador to refrain from comment in such matters, gives to the press an interview filled with the most inordinate praise.

The effect abroad

In England where they are still hoping against hope that America will at last realize her responsibilities and come to the rescue of civilization, the papers are silent, save only the pacifist journals, which are full of praise. Of Mr. Wilson's desire for peace as expressed in the message, Andrew Bonar Law of the British Cabinet makes the comment:

"What he is longing for we are fighting for, our sons and brothers are risking their lives for, and we mean to secure it." To Mr. Wilson's reflections upon the motives of the allied nations in the world war, the Paris *Temps* replies that they are exercising a most sacred responsibility in the maintenance of right and duty, and adds: "The nations struggling for independence, dignity, and existence, feel hurt when their reasons are brought into question." By the process which I have thus described, Germany's doctrine of the freedom of the seas was on the date of the 22d of January, when the unrestricted submarine warfare was less than a fortnight away, made officially an American doctrine. We thus allied ourselves for the time being with the German submarine to break the strangle hold of the British blockade upon the German Empire.

Yet this pro-German and anti-English policy has been retained by Mr. Wilson as the second of his fourteen terms of peace put forward in the program of January 8, 1918, to which he has since frequently referred as though it were still authoritative, and demanded that Germany "accept" it before her "unconditional surrender." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* tells its readers: "President Wilson encourages us to make sacrifices, but it is also he who will fight for the freedom of our trade and the freedom of navigation, and will thereby fight for exceedingly valuable pieces of the German future" (14).

British and American policy the same

We cannot afford to forget that it was the silent but continual pressure of naval blockade which not only accomplished the downfall of Napoleon and saved the world for democracy, but in our own recent history that of the Southern Confederacy as well, and of Spanish

tyranny on the American continent. It was not primarily the shock of armies which brought about the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, but a strangulation of the entire economic life of the South, a grip deadly in its embrace and one which extended eventually to the Confederate armies and lowered their material efficiency and their morale.

Without supplies of cotton, woolens, rubber, copper, oil, grease and fats, foodstuffs, and other needful raw materials, Germans have been living on a reduced diet and forced to dress in paper substitutes for clothing; and they look forward with dread to the coming winter. Paper bandages have replaced cotton in their hospitals, elaborate devices of springs the tires of their motor transports, iron has taken the place of brass in their shells, and an inferior substitute the cotton of their explosives. All these unsupplied needs inevitably reduce efficiency, as they induce mental and moral deterioration—they eventually undermine the morale of the armies.

When we read of the magnificent victories of the incomparable Foch and his splendid armies while driving back the German hordes, we are apt to see only the dramatic *mise en scene* and the glaring circumstance of the battle, quite overlooking the half-veiled causes which have contributed to this great result. The resistance of the Germans to the allied advance we know to have been desperate around Montdidier, at Morlancourt, and on the spur above the Somme at Chipilly. It was by a slight overbalance in efficiency and morale that the scales were turned in each instance, and of this the British blockade is the one underlying cause.

The compelling power of blockade has in modern

times, it is pleasant to record, been generally exercised in the cause of democracy, and geographic conditions have determined that unless misled by a false and vicious pacifism, it will be in the future as well; since the nations whose natural defense is indicated as to a large extent that of sea power are the English-speaking commonwealths and the other democratic countries now allied with them. The absolute monarchies are now intrenched in the heart of Europe, and they are not by nature destined to become strong upon the sea, save only through a course of action which points unerringly to aggression and conquest.

Blockade in the interests of democracy

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XVI

GERMAN PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEXT WAR

"Any one who has any familiarity at all with our officers and generals knows that it would take another Sedan, inflicted on us instead of by us, before they would acquiesce in the control of the army by the German Parliament."—PROFESSOR DELBRÜCK of the University of Berlin.

"There was a period of the war . . . when here and there, in the English press, the phrase cropped up that there were 'two victors' in the war—England and Germany. Behind this lay the idea that English policy might rest content, in case of need, with a 'drawn' war. From the English point of view, however, this was a piece of lazy and confused thinking. They know better to-day: and they are perfectly right when they say that if the game between them and us ends in an apparent 'draw' it is we who will be the victors and they the vanquished."—PAUL ROHRBACH, in *Deutsche Politik*, November 25, 1916 (1).

"It is thus that the mineral districts of Lorraine, to which we are already indebted for not having been annihilated in the present war, will protect us in the future war and permit us to assure the welfare of the Empire and at the same time spare the blood of the people."—Memorandum submitted to the German Government by Associations of Iron and Steel Manufacturers and Metallurgists in December, 1917.

AT the outset it was pointed out that the present war was launched by Germany as the first of a series planned for conquest of territory, and that it had for its initial object the crushing of France while Russia was being held in check. Later, the great eastern neighbor was to be reduced to such a condition of impotence as would result in peace terms favorable to

The world war first of a series planned

exploitation while making preparations for the next war in the series.

Italy, the lightly held partner in the Triple Alliance, Germany hoped to have either as a partner or as a neutral, and she hoped against hope—though it is hard to believe that she could have expected—that England would be so blind to her own danger as to keep out of the conflict. Of all this, as well as of Germany's disappointment that her plans went awry, we have new, though somewhat superfluous confirmation in the confidences of Count von Wangenheim made to Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the American Ambassador at Constantinople (2).

The next war envisaged

The earlier German plans have been so deranged by the surprises of this war, and most of all by the wholly unexpected, but to her most welcome, collapse of Russia, that we may from now on ignore them as having been so far modified as to be of little future significance. That a "next war" is planned by Germany in order to reconquer all territory which must be given up, as well as to achieve the objectives not yet realized, there is not the shadow of a doubt. This war has not yet been preached openly in Germany, because to do so would be to acknowledge defeat, and this acknowledgment would seriously affect the morale of the German people; but in the writings of political leaders and generals, as well as in the preparatory movements already inaugurated, the plans are revealed as though in an open book.

All that is necessary for their realization is an inconclusive peace, followed by almost a score of years of preparation, unless fate should in the meantime provide her an unexpectedly favorable combination of circumstances. In the succinct expression of the

British Premier, "we cannot seek to escape the horrors of war by laying them up for our children."

Chancellor Michaelis in 1916 sent to Austria a secret memorandum containing this paragraph:

The Michaelis memorandum

"The motive of all Germany's acts is the lack of territory, both for the development of commerce and colonization. Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of the route to the southeast. And these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England." (3, p. 19.)

The late Governor-General of Belgium, General von Bissing, in a memorandum which has since been published, has developed the strategic importance of Belgium for a future war, from which memorandum the following extracts have been taken:

Memorandum of General von Bissing

"I must also refer to the fact that the Belgian industrial districts are of great value, not only in peace, but in the event of war. The advantages which we have been able during the present war to obtain from Belgian industry by the removal of machinery and so on, are as important as the disadvantages which our enemies have suffered through lack of this addition to their fighting strength. . . .

"Belgium's king can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or allow it to be restricted. . . . We can read in Machiavelli that he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the King or Regent, even by killing him.

"These are grave decisions, but they must be taken. . . .

"For years to come we must maintain the existing state of dictatorship." (4, p. 16.)

To Cornelius Gurlitt, the art critic, General von

Bissing wrote in 1917: "Peace cannot be secured by agreements on paper, but only by positive and adequate guarantees" (4, p. 25).

Iron and future wars

In December, 1917, the Association of German Manufacturers of Iron and Steel and the Association of German Metallurgists addressed a joint memorial to the German Government as well as to the German high military command. In this memorial it was demanded that Germany annex the French "minette" iron deposits of French Lorraine, by reason of their "extreme importance for German national economy and for the conduct of future wars." The demand is made that the territory annexed be extended so far westward as to place the ore fields beyond the range of French artillery, since only in this way can France be prevented from checking Germany's future wars (5, App.).

Pointing out that the future life of Germany's deposits of iron is not more than fifty years, the conclusion is reached in this memorandum:

Exhaustion of Germany's iron ore

"Let no one believe that Germany in peace time will be able to assure herself iron reserves in a future war. And let no one dare to pretend on his own responsibility that such iron reserves would be sufficient.

"During the first forty months of this war, Germany in order to meet the needs of her national defense, spent over 50,000,000 tons of iron and steel [corresponding to nearly three times that amount or 150,000,000 tons of iron ore. W. H. H.]

"We do not have the right to count that in a future war we shall have the good fortune a second time to be able to exploit the territories occupied and to increase our resources of first materials. [As already explained this was accomplished by invasion two days before war was declared. See ante p. 82. W. H. H.]

"For the future war it is necessary that we dispose of considerable resources in German ore, for the richer an industrial nation is in iron ore the greater it is feared by its enemies.

The future war less a question of man power than of machines

"In the future it will not be masses of men grouped in gigantic armies that will decide the war, but above all defensive and offensive instruments of perfected technique placed at the disposition of the combatant in sufficient quantities and constantly renewed. (3, p. 35.)

"It is thus that the mineral districts of Lorraine, to which we are already indebted for not having been annihilated in the present war, will protect us in the future war and permit us to assure the welfare of the Empire and at the same time spare the blood of the people."

The same theme has been developed even more fully by Dr. J. Reichert of Berlin in an article which appeared in *Weltwirtschaft* and has been translated and commented upon by the distinguished French historian and economist, Henri Hauser (6, 7, 8). Says Reichert:

The future war will come in twenty years

"Picture now the future, can Germany in a future war resist the French menace in Briey-Longwy? [The iron ore district of French Lorraine. W. H. H.] And can the economic position of Germany in the advance of the world be reëstablished if Germany depends on foreign iron? *This is equivalent to saying: 'Can Germany later make once more a war like this one?'*"

With Briey German wars could continue many decades

Reichert expresses his conviction that the enemies of Germany could not make war again on an adequate scale before 1940, and then only in the event that there was no interference with their assembling of the materials of war. It is his belief also that unless Germany is permitted

to acquire the iron deposits of French Lorraine she will be unable after 1960 to conduct a war on the scale of this one owing to the exhaustion of her own ores in annexed Lorraine; but with the accession of the French ores which it is her purpose to retain, she could make such wars for several decades longer.

Reichert continues:

"To return Briey-Longwy to France is to leave the most vulnerable point of the Western Front without defense. It would then be a miracle if Germany in a new war could resist a coalition and defend the blast furnaces and factories against the attack of escadrilles and army guns of long range. That is what the next war and those to follow it would be without Briey-Longwy."

Says Hauser in commenting upon these conclusions:

"That is why Herr von Schoen in 1914 was charged to demand of us Toul and Verdun. That is why the Crown Prince has thrown his troops on Souville and Douaumont. That is why Germany—it must be prevented—will defend Briey to the end." (8, p. 35.)

It should be borne in mind that these extracts are from the most authoritative sources in Germany, and that they are declarations made as recently as December, 1917.

Belgium to be relinquished after being ruined economically

In order clearly to understand the German program for the next war, it is necessary to return to the consideration of the spoliation of Belgium, which began in June, 1916, after German plans for a second time had gone awry and it had become evident that a decisive victory for her was impossible, Russia not having at that time collapsed. General von Bissing's testament,

from which citations have already been made, indicates rather clearly that he was feeling under the necessity of defending against strong opposition, his view that Belgium must on no account be relinquished; and Gardiner has advanced reasons for believing that the wholesale despoliation of Belgium was brought about as a result of the German Government having reached the decision that since this is the *sine qua non* of the Allies' conditions of peace, Belgium would in any case have to be relinquished.

The manner of the despoliation indicates that the primary object was to ruin Belgium economically, and after the war bring her under domination of Germany by the methods of peaceful penetration, here greatly intensified. Says the Belgian official report:

"The purpose of this entire system of destruction is double: First, to supply deficiencies in German industry; second, to put an end to Belgian competition and later to subject Belgian industry to that of German when the time comes for refitting the factories with machinery after the war."

The obvious result of economic domination by Germany will be that, either with or without military penetration, as may be found necessary, Belgium will sooner or later become annexed to Germany in name as well as in fact, and thereafter military preparation will be made against England for the launching of the next war.

In ancient times it was a practice of barbarous tribes to surround their territory with a tract in which the inhabitants had all been killed off and in which all means of sustaining life had been removed by a thorough ravishment of the country. Such a zone of devastated territory made any attack

The German marches

from without extremely difficult, and these frontier belts of wasted territory were known as *marches*.

The shifting, though generally stabilized, western battle front of Germany, under the bombardment of modern artillery and through the excavations made for elaborate trench systems, has lost its protecting mantle of sod and been transformed into a field of mud with the rich agricultural soil washed down into the streams. There has thus been produced a great scar stretching across Northern France into Flanders; a scar of war which it will require generations to efface. During the Hindenburg retreat in the spring of 1916, a veritable *marches* of a grander scale was produced within which every structure was blown up by dynamite, wells were defouled with filth, fruit trees girdled, and devastation wrought upon a scale of thoroughness which has no parallel in human history.

In addition to the desire to ruin the property of an enemy we may see in this the deeper design of the formation of a protective frontier zone looking toward future wars; the more so since the zone coincides well with the Calais-Bâle line which Pan-Germans assert must in future be the frontier of Germany upon the West.

The experiences of the past have shown that wherever conquered nations of markedly different ideals or cultures come under the control of a conquering power, their assimilation is a practical impossibility. Even if the men should all be exterminated, the women train the children to hate their oppressors. Attempts to colonize the Polish provinces of East Prussia with German immigrants have been so unsuccessful, partly because when Germans have intermarried with the Polish women they have almost invariably acquired

No more Alsace-Lorraine problems

Polish sympathies. The conclusion has been reached that under such arrogant and domineering rulers as the Teutons, without complete annihilation of the subject races, insoluble problems like those of the French in Alsace-Lorraine, of the Poles in Posen, and of the Danes in Schleswig-Holstein, will be inevitable. Germans have declared that hereafter they propose to have no new problems of this character; and the atrocities of Armenia, Roumania, and Serbia, characterized as they have been by the destruction of women and children quite as much as of men, are correctly interpreted only when this consideration is taken into account.

Most far-reaching plans to achieve a decisive victory in the next war, which in Germany have now been under way since the summer of 1916, have been given little publicity in America; where we are as yet only beginning to appreciate the horrors of war, and where we have not braced ourselves firmly to meet the shock to our ideals which any thorough study of German culture necessitates. Let it not, therefore, be forgotten, that we are involved in a struggle for our very existence as a race, and that there can be no valid excuse for longer withholding a knowledge of the methods by which Germany is seeking to provide the man-power with which to conduct the next war.

Raising of "cannon fodder"

Five principal methods are now resorted to in Germany with a view to increase the man-power of the Empire. The first of these in order of time has been the wholesale ravishment of the women of France and Belgium, and the sending into Germany of the offspring from this official and bestial debauchery, to be there raised in government institutions similar in their general

New method of increasing the population

character to foundling asylums. There is every parallel save one between this system and that by which the Turks between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries produced the nucleus of their famous bodies of soldiery known as janizaries. The young and healthy children were at a tender age taken from their Christian mothers and raised by the government in institutions where they acquired the religion and the culture of Islam.

German "orderlies"

In the deportations from the French and Belgian towns and cities the comely and healthy among the young women have been systematically selected by the officers as "orderlies" to serve them, thus relieving a considerable body of soldiers for the German front. The facts in this connection have been established by a wealth of unimpeachable testimony.

In the second place, the men deported from the occupied portions of Belgium, France, Poland, Serbia, and Roumania, will never be allowed to return to their homes, unless the Allies are able to compel it; and, either of their own will or under compulsion, many of them will form liaisons with the women of Germany, thus increasing the man-power of the country.

"Lateral" or "secondary" marriages

I now approach, not without reluctance, the principal method which Germany has devised to increase her population, a method which is coming to be known as that of "secondary" or "lateral" marriages. At the beginning of the war Germany contained about eight hundred thousand more women than men, but that excess of females has now, through the battle losses, been more than trebled. To the German mind bent

on efficiency there is here a great waste of human material. As a patriotic duty to the Fatherland, the people are being urged to increase, multiply, and replenish the earth, as enjoined in the Scriptures, with no more regard to family ties than has been shown for international law (3, p. 75).

According to Gardiner, military critic of the New York *Times*, a leaflet which is being circulated on the German front with the coöperation of the officers, reads as follows:

"Soldiers, a grave danger assails the Fatherland by reason of the dwindling birth rate. The cradles of Germany are empty to-day; it is your duty to see that they are filled.

Married men instructed to contract alliances with bachelor women

"You bachelors, when your leave comes marry at once the girl of your choice. Make her your wife without delay.

"The Fatherland needs healthy children.

"You married men and your wives should put jealousy from your minds and consider whether you have not also a duty to the Fatherland.

"You should consider whether you may not honorably contract an alliance with one of the million of bachelor women. See if your wife will not sanction the relation. Remember all of you that the empty cradles of Germany must be filled." (3, p. 78.)

According to Gardiner, this does not, however, indicate the full extent to which the system has gone, for soldiers on furlough are given a card which must be countersigned by an official to certify that the soldier has proven his patriotism in the way indicated before he returns to the front.

A pamphlet published in Cologne runs as follows:

"Women in all classes of society who have reached a certain age are, in the interests of the Fatherland, not only authorized but called upon to enter into a secondary marriage which is supported by personal inclination. Only a married man may be the object of this inclination, and he must have the consent of his married wife. This condition is necessary in order to prevent the mischief which otherwise might surely be expected.

Instructions to women

"The offspring of these lawful secondary marriages bear the name of their mother, and are handed over to the care of the state, unless the mother assumes responsibility for them. They are to be regarded in every respect as fully equal members of society. The mothers wear a narrow wedding ring as a sign of their patriotism. The secondary marriage will be dissolved as soon as its object has been obtained." (3, p. 77.)

On a number of German prisoners captured during the last two years, the following circular letters have been found:

"On account of all able-bodied men having been called to the colors, it remains the duty of all those left behind, for the sake of the Fatherland, to interest themselves in the happiness and health of the married women and the maidens, by doubling or even trebling the births.

Free lances in charge of districts

"Your name has been given us as a capable man, and you are herewith requested to take on this office of honor, and to do your duty in a proper German way. It must here be pointed out that your wife or fiancée will not be able to claim a divorce; it is in fact hoped that the women will bear this discomfort heroically for the sake of the war. You will be given the district of *** . . .

"Should you not feel capable of carrying on the task allotted to you, you will be given three days in which to name someone in your place. On the other hand, if you

are prepared to take on a second district as well, you will become '*Vrek Offizier*' and receive a pension.

"An exhibition of photographs of women and maidens in the districts allotted to you is to be seen at the office of ——. You are requested to bring this letter with you. Your good work should begin immediately. A full report of results to be submitted by you after nine months." (3, p. 78.)

There is yet one further development of this new German system of preparing for the next war. The burgomasters of German towns must provide a list of all war widows in their communities, a list of cripples is furnished by the authorities, and advertisements are placed in special papers to obtain wives for the cripples. Says Gardiner:

Arrangements for cripples and widows

"Thus, playing the rôle of Cupid, the beneficent government will bring together Venus and Adonis, and, as stated in official instructions, sow the seed of a new generation which will in the fullness of its manhood take upon its shoulders the national defense" (3, p. 80).

The evidence comes from Germany that the women of the Fatherland have responded to this demand upon them and that all Germany is to-day becoming transformed into a great human stud-farm. The number of illegitimate births increased twenty-five per cent. between 1916 and 1917. The whole social fabric based upon the sacredness of the family relationship is in Germany rent through and through. This is not polygamy, it is not even concubinage, it is state-wide, promiscuous prostitution. In the German Empire is now set up a national brothel of gargantuan proportions with its motto in glaring electrical illumination, "For the Fatherland."

That this system is efficient in producing "cannon-fodder," there is not the shadow of a doubt. All history bears witness to the value of janizaries as soldiers, even though under Turkish conditions they were sometimes a danger to the state. With German methods of training, they would differ little from the present-day German soldiers, unless they were to have longer training and correspondingly greater efficiency. That they would be under rigid discipline goes without saying.

System efficient in producing soldiers

As soon as we have passed the first shock of this newest evidence of wholesale German debauchery, we shudder as we inquire whether the allied nations will be forced to meet it by similar methods of securing race efficiency in war. Germany defied international law and introduced asphyxiating gases into warfare; and in self-defense the allied nations have been compelled to follow her example; as they have also in a number of other practices contrary to international law. The danger of Germany's "secondary marriages" is most acute for France, which of the Allies is most impoverished in man-power, and is compelled to live next to and always exposed to the invasions of the Hun. One refuses to consider this phase of the matter until we have become convinced that Russia is not to find herself after the splendid initiative by the Czecho-Slovaks and with the aid of the allied nations, long held back by America's hesitation, to free herself from German control. With Russia reëstablished as a bulwark on the eastern front, with the iron ores of Lorraine restored to France, and with the present alliance of the democratic nations continued with military service, there is still hope for the continuance of the established civilization.

Must other nations follow Germany's example

It must never for one moment be lost sight of that if Germany is allowed to retain her hold upon the Ukraine, Poland, and the Baltic provinces of Russia, including now Finland, that her janizary armies will be swelled enormously, and as a consequence, one after the other, the remaining disintegrated states of the former Russian Empire will fall under her sway, and then India and Egypt and later even remoter nations will be incorporated in the German World Empire.

The menace of a conquered Russia

With such vast resources—mineral, agricultural, and man-power—no coalition of nations could possibly stand against her. That is why the saving of Russia is the greatest of all our problems to-day.

The obvious plan of Germany to place her dependence upon janizary armies, has fixed the date of the next war, if she is permitted to launch it, as not much before 1940. Upon her system, each year of delay after 1934 would greatly increase her effective strength; since the products of the "secondary marriages" would begin to become available for military service about that time. It will be interesting to recall that this date of 1940 is specifically mentioned by Reichert as the time before which, as he expresses it, enemies would not be able to attack Germany; but no one need be deceived as to his meaning.

Date of Germany's next war

This convincing demonstration that the "good German people" have joined with the "bad German Kaiser," not only in the responsibilities of this war but in the next war as well, to be secured for them through an inconclusive peace, should forever set at rest that delusion, unfortunately given currency in one of Mr. Wilson's state papers (9), that we are not

fighting the German people. It is at the same time the greatest of all reasons why we must never stop short of absolute and crushing victory over Germany, to carry with it the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and the Ukraine, without whose supplies of iron the fangs of the German monster could not be drawn.

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XVII

THE PEACE TERMS OF DEMOCRACY

"The permanent peace of the world can be secured only through the gradual concentration of preponderant military strength in the hands of the most pacific nations."—JOHN FISKE.

"If in France they think that the reëstablishment of peace can only be made possible by the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, and if necessity should oblige us to sign such a peace, the seventy millions of Germans would very soon tear that peace to tatters."—MAXIMILIAN HARDEN.

"Your brothers of Alsace and of Lorraine, separated now from the common family, will preserve for France, far away from their homes, a filial affection until the day when she will come back to take her place there."—Protest of the Deputies from Alsace and Lorraine in taking their departure from the French Assembly, 1871.

"It is certain . . . that if, twenty years after the conclusion of peace, France should succumb as a result of the remote consequences of the war, Germany would rule Europe. . . . This situation of the French population is so serious that it will make real and definitive victory for France impossible, unless the conditions of peace imposed by the Allies shall bring about in Europe such a condition that Germany shall not be able to profit by her superiority in numbers by renewing her attacks on France."—ANDRÉ CHÉRADAME, December, 1918.

NO attempt to consider the subject of peace terms which are to conclude the war could be expected to come within the compass of even a large volume; and a small library might be, and as a matter of fact is, written upon the subject. There are, none the less, certain fundamental ideals and principles which must be kept always in mind, and whose application it will be the task of the Peace Conference to make.

Vastness of the subject

Fortunately, as has already been stated, a library consisting of several hundred special reports, which cover every phase of the technical side of those questions likely to be involved, is already available (1). This is, however, knowledge and information only.

Assembling of the knowledge

Those questions which are to be decided at the Peace Conference call for ripe judgment and a political vision which is able to see the true relation between cause and effect. There is here no place for the mushy idealism of the pacifist, living as he does in a land of dreams and wholly incapable of learning from his past miscarriages of judgment (2). Of all the considerations of this vast subject none can bear comparison with this in its weighty importance. Divergent interests will clash, not only between the victors and the vanquished, but between the representatives of the allied nations at the council table; and, both unconsciously and through design, unessentials will be so piled over and about the really vital issues as to hide them from all but the more discerning.

Men of vision needed

At the very outset one is halted by the obvious fact that terms of peace in the sense in which that expression is ordinarily interpreted is here inapplicable. "Terms" are items or articles set down in order upon paper, which the "High Contracting Parties" bind themselves solemnly to observe and to make the guiding principle of action; the basal assumption being of course that they are in honor bound, and this not alone to satisfy their own national self-respect, but in order to conserve a reputation which is a distinct asset of their resources.

Terms to be imposed not agreed upon

Even savages have shown this sense of honor, and the peace signed between William Penn and the Ameri-

can Indians was faithfully kept on both sides throughout generations. It has remained for Germany in following the traditions and the control of Prussia, to sink below the level of the lowest savage and to forfeit every right to the respect of the civilized world. Maximilian Harden, the most influential mouth-piece in modern Germany outside the government organs, said:

"We will go back to the times of savagery when man was a wolf for his fellow-man. . . .

"If in France they think that the reëstablishment of peace can only be made possible by the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, and if necessity should oblige us to sign such a peace, the seventy millions of Germans would very soon tear that peace to tatters." (3.)

Terms of peace under these conditions it would be madness to *agree upon*—they must be *imposed*, and for this a peace with victory is the *sine qua non*.

It would properly put the seal of the verdict of the civilized world upon the wantonness and bestiality of Germany's conduct in the war, unparalleled in history, if the German envoy at the peace conference were to be excluded from the council table, and the decisions of the conference be sent to him in the form of communications.

It is, moreover, difficult to see how the allied nations can, after imposition of peace, receive the diplomatic and consular officials from the Central Powers, since the diplomatic service depends upon the observance of a sense of honor as between gentlemen; and the world has now been a witness to the spectacle, not of the prostitution of a single German office, or even of those collectively accredited to any one country, but

of the entire machinery of the German Foreign Office, working as one vast conspiracy hatchery against friendly nations.

Had they come from the Kaiser's own Chancellor, the counsels of the British pacifist, Arnold Bennett, could not be more dangerous to the future peace of the world. One of his latest articles speaks of the "new spirit" which must rule at the Peace Conference.

"Have faith in human nature," now preached by pacifists

"That new spirit," he says, "is the sole reality for which we are fighting, and we have to realize this always and strive night and day to realize it more deeply. We want democracy, but democracy can only prosper in an atmosphere of mutual trust, an atmosphere from which suspicion and determination to get the better of everybody else at any cost are absent. *The root of democracy is a large and kindly faith in human nature.*" (4.)

A professor in a well-known New England university, whose pacifism is likewise in a state of suspended animation only, has been touring the country ostensibly in the interests of a government war activity, and carrying to the American people a message not unlike that of Arnold Bennett.

It must be agreed that Germany's contention that she be permitted to become corsair of the seas through admission of the principle of their entire freedom in time of war, as advocated for her by Mr. Wilson and as already pointed out in an earlier lecture, is to be denied.

Reparation and indemnity for damages inflicted in defiance of international law upon occupied territory, and also in the sinking of ships, must be imposed; though it is little likely that any penalizing war indemnity such as Germany

Reparations and indemnities

exacted from France in 1871, or Japan from China at the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese War, will meet with general favor. The vast sums of money exacted from Belgium and other occupied states upon various pretenses must be made good to them with interest. Alsace-Lorraine must be restored, Poland reconstituted, and the Czecho-Slovaks must be rewarded for their long and heroic struggle for liberty through elevation of their country into a self-governing state (5, 6). These and many other questions of like nature have been discussed in public declarations, particularly by Premier Lloyd George and others in response to the insistent demand of the pacifists, reinforced by the messages of Mr. Wilson, following close as these latter did upon the call from Germany for the allied peace terms. These statements, as has already been pointed out, have worked much mischief and will surely return to plague the Allies, as was in fact well realized in Europe. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that in Mr. Wilson's statement of war aims delivered January 8, 1918, Germany's war cry of "freedom of the seas" is included (2). To ratify such a proposal at the Peace Conference and thus destroy the main influence of navies, I have already pointed out, will be to seal the doom of the allied nations.

Most important of all is it that the peace terms fixed upon be secured by suitable guarantees. This expression has been often used, though I think in a somewhat vague way, because the nature of the guarantees has been hard to define. First and foremost, it goes without saying that Germany's navy, if intact, will as a measure of safety and as a partial reparation be taken from her.

Peace guarantees

It will be necessary, further, to take account of Germany's development into an industrial or tentacular state, as has been discussed in a preceding lecture, with full consideration of her peculiar underground methods of peaceful penetration, if restraints are to be imposed to afford stability and permanency to the terms of peace.

It has been pointed out that both the feverish industrial development of Germany and her peaceful penetration of her neighbors were possible only because of the vast deposits of iron which she wrested from France and smelted with the coal of her own vast deposits. With the iron ores taken from her and restored to France, where they rightfully belong, together with sufficient coal of smelting qualities to permit of their successful working, Germany will be held in leash and kept from new forays upon her neighbors. This is, therefore, the foremost in importance of all peace guarantees.

If, however, Germany should be permitted to retain her hold upon Ukraine with its vast deposits of both coal and iron, the same danger that she would use these deposits for preparing a future war would continue to exist. Similarly, if the Baltic provinces and Finland are not released from her grasp, her power would be extended over Sweden and the iron ores of Swedish Lapland, both by means of a continuous land communication and from making of the Baltic a closed sea. It is for this reason, and also because the development of the vast agricultural, labor, and military resources of the disintegrated provinces of the former Russian Empire would supply great elements of military power, that the rehabilitation of that great country in entire in-

Russia must find herself

dependence of Germany is, next to the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, the most important of all peace conditions.

Next in importance to the restoration of stolen territory in the East and West, the ravished lands to the southeastward along the corridor of the Balkans must be restored and afforded such protection that they may develop without the danger of later falling a prey to German greed and exploitation. Said the late Chancellor Michaelis in a secret message to the Austrian Government: "Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of the route to the southeast, and these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England."

Berlin to Bagdad plan must be frustrated

More than for the Balkan states themselves, such an imposition upon Germany is essential in order to break her hold upon the vassal state of Turkey, and through Asia Minor to maintain a strangle hold upon the valley of Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. This grandiose plan for conquest of India and Egypt through the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and by the submarine to menace the sea routes to India and Australia from a base upon the Persian Gulf, had already advanced far toward realization when the war was launched in 1914. The only safeguard for the world is here to break the "corridor route" in the Balkans.

Asia Minor is rich in mineral resources, but its culture is Turkish, and it will probably remain in Turkish hands. The shattering of the Teuton scheme of *Mittel-Europa* is, however, essential to a permanent peace, and I shall later return to this topic.

As a result of the war the German colonies in Africa, in the Pacific, and in China have been taken from her

by the Allies; largely by the armies of the South African republics, by the British naval units of Australia and New Zealand, and by the army and navy of Japan. Germany has declared that these colonies must all be given back to her; whereas the commonwealths which have taken possession of them insist that they will never submit to having Germans again in occupation of colonies upon their borders in which to carry out new treacheries. It has been insisted with great force that the former dangers from German intrigue were but small compared to the new menace which would arise with the certainty that submarine bases, easily concealed, and aeroplane stations would certainly be added.

The former German colonies

Moreover, Germany has never used her colonies for the good of the natives, but has cruelly treated and terrorized them. This has been shown by many travelers (7) and natives have fled wherever possible to neighboring English colonies.

The contrast of the German with the British colonizing methods has never been more clearly exposed than by the Kaiser, when in 1913 he set forth to the German captains of industry the German scheme for conquest of India. As reported by Herr Thyssen:

Contrast of German and British colonizing methods

"The Emperor was particularly enthusiastic over the coming German conquest of India. 'India,' he said, 'is occupied by the British. It is in a way governed by the British, but it is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India. We shall conquer it, and the vast revenues that the British allow to be taken by Indian princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland. In all the

richest lands of the earth the German flag will fly over every other flag." (8.)

General Smuts, the late commander-in-chief of the British forces in East Africa and the representative from Africa in the British War Council, has said:

"The conquered German colonies can be regarded only as guarantees for the security of the future peace of the world. This opinion will be shared, I feel sure, by the vast bulk of the young nations who form the dominions of the British Empire. . . . Voluntarily they joined in this war and to their efforts is largely due the destruction of the German colonial empire. . . . They should not be asked to consent to the restoration to a militant Germany of fresh footholds for militarism in the southern hemisphere, and thus to endanger the future of their young and rising communities who are developing the waste places of the earth." (9.)

General Smuts voices view of British self-governing commonwealths

That General Smuts's fears are well-grounded will be clear from a citation from Professor Delbrück in the *Preussischer Jahrbücher:*

"If our victory is great enough, we can hope to unite under our hand the whole of Central Africa with our old colony Southwest Africa. . . .

"All these territories together have over one hundred million inhabitants. United in a single ownership, and with their various characteristics supplementing one another, they offer simply immeasurable prospects. They are rich in natural treasures, rich in possibilities of settlement and trade, and rich in men who can work and also be used in war." (9.)

Emil Zimmermann says:

African natives for Germany's next war

"German Africa will make us a world power by enabling us to exert decisive influence upon the world political decisions of our enemies and of other powers, and to exercise pressure on all shapings of policy in Africa, Asia Minor, and Southern Europe." (9, p. 317.)

General Smuts continues his statement:

"This Central African block, the maps of which are now in course of preparation and printing at the Colonial Office in Berlin, is intended in the first place to supply the economic requirements and raw materials of German industry; in the second and far more important place, to become the recruiting-ground for vast native armies, the great value of which has been demonstrated in the tropical campaigns of this war, and especially in East Africa; while the natural harbors on the Atlantic and Indian oceans will supply the naval and submarine bases from which both ocean routes will be dominated, and British and American sea-power will be brought to naught. The native armies will be useful in the next great war, to which the German General Staff is already devoting serious attention. . . ." (9, p. 315.)

"Paid in full in the blood of your sons"

The rehabilitation of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Roumania, and Northern Italy; countries which have been in German occupation, and the larger areas of all the allied European nations, will, after the frightful exhaustion of the war, constitute a task that will call for wise judgment, for vast treasure, and for a deep devotion. The first step for America—and it can be regarded as a portion only of her debt to the nations that have borne the burden of the conflict and saved her from an irreparable disaster—is to follow the coun-

sel of Mr. James M. Beck and write across the face of the American loans: "Paid in full in the blood of your sons." Exception should be made in the case of Russia, which has betrayed the cause of the Allies and which has, moreover, vast resources which once developed will make of her a rich nation. A mortgage upon these resources to repay the vast loans of France should also be made a condition of peace.

It is unquestionably the duty of the United States to join in the mutual trade conventions of the Allies (10), and, in so far as this can be done, to make common cause with them against Germany. There will in some quarters be a strong prejudice against this latter course, but in no other way can the necessary reparations and indemnities due our Allies who have suffered from Germany's crimes be guaranteed.

Mutual trade relations against Germany

All treaties with Germany have been annulled by the war, and it is difficult to see how new ones can be made to replace them. The substance of the arrangements made by the allied nations in the Paris pact of June, 1916, is common action to meet through tariff discrimination, boycott, or otherwise all inroads of Germany upon their trade; to forego all "favored-nation" relations with the enemy for an indefinite period; to conserve for themselves "before all others" their natural resources during reconstruction; and to make themselves independent of enemy countries both in raw materials and in manufactured products (10). This last clause relates particularly to those materials of which Germany has held the monopoly, notably potash, dye stuffs and chemicals, and optical glass (11). Unless America is to play directly into the hands of

Exclusion of Germany from "favored nation" treaty clauses

Germany, she will be forced to ally herself economically as well as militarily with the democratic nations. As significant of what Germany had planned to impose upon us, it is interesting to note the disclosures of the semi-official *Koelnische Zeitung* of January 10, 1918, a time when Germany was fairly drunk over the unexpected good luck of the collapse of Russia. The terms which she proposed to dictate to the United States were outlined to be: (a) the Monroe Doctrine to be renounced; (b) restrictive immigration legislation to be repealed; and (c) the exaction of a guarantee that import duties on German goods should not exceed a minimum fixed by Germany herself. The last item is to secure raw material for Germany's industry to be paid for in German manufactured products. It is through the control of raw materials by the allied nations in Europe and the United States that guarantees for the payment of indemnities can be secured, and it is difficult to see how they can be obtained in any other way.

Restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and Russian independence of Germany most vital

It is well to enforce by repetition the fact that all other considerations pale into insignificance in comparison with the absolute necessity that Alsace-Lorraine be restored to France, and that Russia be helped upon her feet and made a bulwark against German expansion to the eastward. This latter issue is one which seems now to rest in the lap of the gods, and the elements for a satisfactory discussion of it are hardly yet available; though the indications are distinctly more promising since the United States has finally decided to act with the allied nations against the Bolsheviki under German control.

As regards Alsace-Lorraine, German propaganda is

responsible for so much misconception that it seems best to give the subject very special consideration, in doing which I shall make large use of material published by Professor Hazen of Columbia University (12). Before taking up the historical discussion of the subject, however, I must again reinforce what has been pointed out in earlier lectures, that in the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the allied Powers will draw the fangs of the German monster, and this far more than is possible in any other way (13–16). In the year before the war that portion of the "minette" area of iron ore which is found in annexed Lorraine produced more than 21,000,000 tons of ore, and that in France an additional 14,000,000 tons. In Luxembourg, just over the frontier, there was produced an additional 7,000,000 tons, so that the district as a whole produced 42,000,000 tons of iron ore, equivalent to about one third that tonnage of pig iron.

Lorraine iron ore

In order to smelt this ore it is necessary to have coal of a peculiar coking grade, and although there is found in Lorraine a large deposit of coal, it is ill adapted to the iron industry. One of the most difficult problems of the rehabilitation of France will be the supply of coal for smelting purposes. Germany has vast surplus coal supplies which she has used to maintain a sometimes unwilling neutrality of the neighboring small states, and, it should be added, an open or clandestine purveying of food and other necessary supplies during the period of the war under a threat to withhold coal shipments. A confidential memorandum which was presented to the German Government in March, 1915, on behalf of six of the most powerful industrial and agrarian organizations in the Empire contained this significant

Poverty of France in coal

paragraph: "Coal is one of the most decisive means of political influence. The neutral industrial states are obliged to obey those belligerents who can assure them their provision of coal." (16, p. 55.)

The main supply of German coal is found in Westphalia in the heart of the great Rhenish industrial district. How a sufficient supply of this coal is to be given over to France without leaving it open to seizure by Germany or else expatriating large bodies of German citizens, it is difficult to see, but it is necessary to meet the issue in some way; if for no other reason in partial reparation for the wanton devastation of Northern France. Perhaps the easiest way to accomplish this, if the consent of Belgium can be obtained, would be for the latter country to cede to France Belgian mining districts on her western frontier near Lens in return for German coal districts beyond her eastern frontier. In such an event, it would doubtless be necessary or desirable to remove to new homes both Belgian and German inhabitants.

Potash deposits of Alsace

Potash is one of the essential plant foods, and potash for fertilizing purposes had, up to the present war, been profitably produced only at German mines. In her Stassfurt potash district of Northern Germany, that country had a practical monopoly of potash ores; and it has even been the proud boast of Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, the distinguished German chemist, that Germany could starve the world through withholding potash. Nothing even approaching this condition has been realized, though hardships have been produced in some agricultural pursuits, notably that of tobacco culture, which fortunately cannot be considered as an altogether essential one.

Now though comparatively little is said about it, and though only one mine with a small annual output has been permitted by Germany to operate, full knowledge is now available concerning a great bed of potash in upper Alsace between the Vosges and the Rhine and near the town of Mulhouse. This locality is but a few miles distant from the present battle front in Alsace. The great deposit of potash, though discovered in boring for oil in 1904, was not exploited till 1910, but it has been thoroughly located by borings and found to underlie an area eighteen miles by twelve, the ore being in two beds at depths of six hundred and eight hundred meters (17). These veins of potash are much richer than those of the well-known Stassfurt deposits, and as they lie in the broad plain of the Rhine with the Rhine-Rhone canal nowhere more than a mile or two distant, the shipment of the ore will be comparatively easy. Much the greater portion of the product from the north German potash mines is used for fertilizer, and of this Germany used in 1909 about one half (2,059,600 metric quintals), the United States 1,484,777 metric quintals, or about one third, and all other countries the remaining 355,879 metric quintals.

With potash fertilizer withheld from its soil now for four years, the loss to the fields in the United States has already been keenly felt, and the attempt will be made to make up these losses after the war has come to an end.

Alsatian potash development

Now the Alsatian deposits of potash are very extensive, and it has been estimated on good authority that if the world consumption of 1909 could be assumed to continue without change, the Alsatian deposits would supply the world for nearly five centuries. Inasmuch, however, as the

world's demands are expected to increase enormously, the Alsatian deposits alone could hardly be expected to last more than forty years if the sole source of potash. They are, however, vast, and as America's demands will be so large, the suggestion has been made that United States fabricated ships might after the conclusion of peace carry the needed supplies of smelting coal to France for a number of years at least, or until other sources of supply are opened up, and bring return cargoes of potash to the United States (18).

Alsace-Lorraine not German

German controlled propaganda has been active in an attempt to prove that the Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were really German in culture before they became French, and as a consequence much misconception and confusion of thought has arisen. The original inhabitants of these provinces were Celtic, not Teutonic, and the dolichocephalic skulls which have been unearthed in the provinces have no other significance than to show that Hun and Teutonic barbarians have more than once passed over the district in great invasions of French soil.

Christianity filtered into the region in the third century, and Teuton invasions after several attempts succeeded in the fifth century in gaining control, and were continued for several centuries. During this period there was a blending of racial stocks.

The Holy Roman Empire

From the victory of the Franks over the Allemans came the reintroduction of Christianity, and on Christmas Day of the year 800 A.D. Charlemagne was crowned Emperor at Rome. After his death there succeeded the Holy Roman Empire, which claimed sovereignty and held a loosely exercised authority over a vast region including what

is now Alsace-Lorraine, though at the time merely a congeries of feudal states each of small extent. This Holy Roman Empire, which was a German Empire, did not include France, and it was destroyed by French armies under Napoleon in 1806. It was vastly different from the German Empire of the twentieth century. Says Professor Hazen:

"But the reader should not for a moment imagine that the German Empire of the Middle Ages was the father of the German Empire of to-day, and that the latter is the lawful legatee of the former. It may satisfy the historic sense of modern Germans to see in the Hohenzollerns inheritors and incarnators of the secular traditions of the Hohenstauffen and the Hapsburgs. Such conception can only appear fallacious to the student who is interested in seeing the past as it was, and not in complacently burnishing a grandiose and flattering legend." (12, p. 27.)

The Holy Roman Empire contained no less than 350 states of all sorts, and at any time between 800 and 1800 A.D. it represented, to quote Hazen, "only a maximum of pretensions, a minimum of power." The polyglot aggregations of small states in what is now Alsace-Lorraine developed no German national feeling at this time, and they were so far from the control of the Hapsburg emperors that they were in fact largely independent. According to Hazen, their experience at this time was in reality "a school of independence and self-reliance." In the Alsatian states the speech was generally German, though in the Lorraine districts it was French. Both these Rhine provinces became involved in the Thirty Years War, and when it had ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, much of

Practical independence in Rhine provinces under Empire

the territory of Alsace became a part of France, and the remainder through the expansion of French territory under the Louis's; so that early in the eighteenth century, or eighty years after the Peace of Westphalia, Alsace had become French.

The duchy of Lorraine had early become practically independent of the Empire through the payment of a sum of money, and in 1736 it was given to Stanislaus Lesczynski, the father-in-law of Louis XV., who made his capital at Nancy; with which change the administration and the culture of the province became French. When Stanislaus died in 1766 the province became French in fact, although at the time assimilated. Says Hazen: "No pear ever fell to the ground more naturally, more quietly, at its moment of complete maturity" (12, p. 44).

Lorraine made French under Stanislaus

France, in striking contrast to the well-known Teutonic methods, made a wise use of the newly acquired Rhine provinces, disturbing them as little as possible, allowing the Alsatians to continue their use of the German language, and requiring no military service. The provinces thus came to enjoy a large prosperity and played no small part in the French Revolution.

French rule made provinces prosperous and loyal

It is this free development of their ideals in the white heat of the Revolution which has stamped the French culture upon the Rhine provinces and made them, as it has even been claimed, more French than France herself. In one century they lived more than in many earlier centuries. That greatest of all national hymns, the *Marseillaise*, was composed at Strasbourg and was first sung there by its composer, Rouget de Lisle.

The French Revolution in the provinces

"When the final crisis of this great century occurred, when action succeeded thought, when revolution succeeded philosophy, the people of Lorraine were among the most eager to salute the new day, with its gospel of liberty, equality, and fraternity" (12, p. 50).

The Strasbourg Address

In March of 1790 the citizens of Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, sent an address to the National Assembly of France in these words:

"To this spot, where our fathers gave themselves regretfully to France, we have come to cement by our oaths our union with her. We have sworn and we swear again to shed even the last drop of our blood to maintain the constitution."

When the revolutionary wars began in 1792, the Alsatians and Lorrainers flocked to the volunteer army. Many came to be famous generals, among them Kellermann, Kléber, Lefebvre, Rapp, and Ney. The names of no less than twenty-eight of them are inscribed upon the *Arc de Triomph* in Paris.

"The Land of Liberty"

In June of 1792 the people of Strasbourg planted the tricolor over the Rhine frontier against Germany, with this inscription: "Here begins the land of liberty."

In 1870 de Coulanger, French historian and at one time professor of history in the University of Strasbourg, wrote to Professor Mommsen at Berlin:

"Do you know what made Alsace French? It was not Louis XIV., it was the Revolution of 1789. Since that moment Alsace has followed all our destinies, she has lived our life. All that we think she thinks, all that we feel she feels. She has shared our victories and our defeats, our glory and our mistakes, all our joy and all our sorrow." (12, p. 63.)

General Foy after visiting Alsace in 1821 exclaimed:

"If ever the love of what is great and generous should grow weak in the hearts of the people of old France, her people should cross the Vosges and visit Alsace, there to renew their patriotism and their energy."

Celebration of the Peace of Westphalia

With great enthusiasm the city of Strasbourg celebrated in 1848 the two hundredth anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia, by which it had become annexed to France. In his address upon this occasion the mayor said:

"Surely we no longer need to make a solemn and public profession of our inviolable attachment to France. France does not doubt us, she has confidence in Alsace. But if Germany still cherishes chimerical illusions, if she thinks that the persistence of the German tongue in our countryside and cities is a sign of irresistible sympathy and attraction toward her, let her undeceive herself. Alsace is just as French as Brittany, Flanders, the country of the Basques —and she wishes to remain so."

The Rhine provinces in the Franco-Prussian War

In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the Alsatians and Lorrainers fought against Germany with the greatest determination and desperation; and the great battles of Wissembourg, Wörth, Mars-la-Tour, and Gravelotte were fought upon her soil. The fortresses of Metz and Strasbourg long held out against siege.

The bombardment of Strasbourg was directed systematically, not at the fortifications, but against public and private buildings and women and children. General Werder, whose name by the Alsatians has been twisted into Mörder (murder), adopted terrorist methods in order to bring the people to surrender. The Art Mu-

seum, two public libraries containing precious manuscripts, and one of the great churches went up in flames. The cathedral roof took fire and shells ruined much of the carving as well as the stained glass windows. Later, the Palace of Justice, the Prefecture, and the Theatre were one after the other destroyed. As soon as a building would take fire a storm of shells would be turned upon it, so that the flames could not be extinguished. Says Hazen:

"What caused the greatest indignation among the Strasbourgers was the fury shown in the destruction of their public buildings and particularly their cathedral, which was not destroyed accidentally but intentionally and without military justification." (12, p. 77.)

At the outbreak of the War of 1870 German professors of note issued their manifestoes, much as they have done in the present war. Professor Wagner of the University of Leipsic wrote: "Alsace and Lorraine must be incorporated in a healthy and vigorous state, in Germany, in Prussia, marching at the head of Imperial Germany"; and this pronouncement ended with the peculiarly Prussian touch: "God wills it."

When, after the fall of Paris, France lay writhing before the conqueror, Bismarck demanded of France a punitive indemnity for defending herself against aggression, an indemnity so huge as to surpass all precedent, and in addition he demanded the cession to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. Thereupon the deputies from these provinces presented in the National Assembly the following declaration:

Memorial presented to the National Assembly

"Alsace and Lorraine do not wish to be alienated from France. Associated for more than two centuries with

France, in good fortune and in bad, these two provinces, ceaselessly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves to national greatness; they have sealed with their blood the indissoluble pact which attaches them to the French Unity. Threatened to-day by foreign pretensions, they affirm in the midst of obstacles and dangers, under the very yoke of the invader, their fidelity.

"All unanimously . . . have signified to Germany and to the world the unchangeable will of Alsace and of Lorraine to remain French." (19, p. 771.)

But the iron fist of Bismarck was already hammering upon the table, and the Assembly in unanimous sympathy with this protest but "with death in their souls," signed the cession of territory that had to be. Thereupon the deputies of the two provinces concerned signed a new protest and "immediately afterward left the Assembly in poignant silence." This protest read:

Valedictory of the deputies

"Once again we declare null and void a pact which disposes of us without our consent. . . .

"Now as we leave this place where our dignity does not permit us longer to remain, and in spite of the bitterness of our sorrow, the supreme thought that we find in the bottom of our hearts is gratitude to those who for six months have defended us, and unchangeable affection to the Motherland from which we are violently torn away.

"We shall follow you with our good wishes and we shall wait with complete confidence in the future until regenerated France takes again the course of her great destiny.

"Your brothers of Alsace and of Lorraine, separated now from the common family, will preserve for France, far away from their homes, a filial affection until the day when she will come back to take her place there." (19, p. 772.)

By Article II of the Treaty of Frankfurt in which terms were imposed upon France, citizens of the provinces were given until October 1, 1872, to decide whether they would emigrate and leave behind for confiscation by the German Government all which they possessed and held dear. Vast numbers of school teachers, particularly, and all but six of the judges left the provinces. At the end of 1872 only twenty per cent. of the officials were natives. Before the date set sixty thousand had immigrated, and an additional one hundred thousand were prevented from doing so; but it has been estimated that eventually by one means or another four hundred thousand had left the country.

The "Emigrés"

What was the hardest of all to bear, and what drove many away, was the thought that their sons would one day be liable to mobilization in the German army and be obliged to fight against France.

Amid all the horrors of this present war, for mental anguish there are few to be compared to that of the Alsatians and Lorrainers who have been driven into battle against their friends; and not only those normally eligible to service have been mobilized, but as a means of solving the Alsace-Lorraine question through extermination of the "protestors" and to prepare the way for a possible plebiscite for settlement of the fate of the provinces at the conclusion of peace, many who were long past military age or physically unfit for service have been sent to the shambles. Daniel Blumenthal, former mayor of Colmar in Alsace, who escaped from the country, gives it as his belief that more than thirty thousand Alsatians in the German army have already deserted to the French (20, p. 55). Says M. Escard, referring to the emigrations after

annexation to Germany: "What the emigration has cost us in population amounts to hundreds of thousands; in money to billions; in capacity and intelligence no estimate can be made. The loss is irreparable" (12, p. 103).

German tyranny in the Reichsland

Germany incorporated the conquered provinces as a "crownland" (*Reichsland*), gave it the outward dress of a legislature which was at first uni-cameral and ruled by a President-Superior. In 1879 some so-called "concessions," which however affected no real changes, were made. A new constitution was given and the ruler took the name of *Statthalter*, always a personal appointee of the Kaiser. The provinces were allowed to send fifteen delegates to the Imperial Reichstag. Though the elections were under German surveillance, this entire delegation went repeatedly to Berlin as so-called "protestors," as in 1874, 1881, 1884, and 1887. Of the 314,000 votes cast in 1887, 247,000 were cast for protestors; 82,000 more than in 1884 notwithstanding the fact that German "colonization" had been vigorously pushed in the provinces. This is a significant commentary upon the effect of German methods of administering conquered territory.

The protestors presented to the Reichstag in 1874 the following memorial:

Reichstag memorial of the protestors

"We beg the Reichstag to decide:

"That the populations of Alsace-Lorraine incorporated in the German Empire without their consent through the Treaty of Frankfort be given an opportunity to say what they think about said incorporation." (19, p. 777.)

To this memorandum Bismarck made reply in the Reichstag that Alsace-Lorraine had not been annexed

for the sake of Alsatians and Lorrainers; that Germany was indifferent to their lamentations and their anger, and that the provinces were taken from France solely to further the interests of the Empire.

Bismarck's reply

In 1885 Prince von Hohenlohe succeeded to Manteuffel as *Statthalter* and applied the "mailed fist" with great severity. Dissolution of societies, innumerable imprisonments, strict censorship of the press, and special passports, were some of his methods of suppression.

The "mailed fist" of von Hohenlohe

In the *Memoirs* of Prince von Hohenlohe there is a significant passage under date of May 8, 1888, which indicates that Bismarck hoped through these repressive measures to drive the inhabitants of the provinces to revolt, so that he might have the excuse for declaring martial law.

German intrigue revealed by von Hohenlohe's "Memoirs"

"Since last spring," writes the *Statthalter*, " . . . we have introduced a number of more or less vexatious measures, which have aroused much ill-feeling. Prince Bismarck thereupon desired me to introduce the system of compulsory passports against France. . . . He informed me that our Ambassador at Paris would not be allowed to *visé* any pass without previously asking permission, so that infinite delays would arise in consequence. There is no doubt that this measure would not only excite general surprise, but would also embitter the local population. It seems that Berlin desires to introduce these irritating measures with the object of reducing the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to despair and driving them to revolt, when it will be possible to say that the civil government is useless and that martial law must be proclaimed." (12, p. 137.)

Is it any wonder that the Alsatians hate the Germans with an insatiable hatred? Is it strange that in 1890

the Imperial Chancellor, Count von Caprivi, was obliged to admit that "after nineteen years of annexation German influence has made no progress in Alsace"; or that in 1914 in the first days of this war, German generals said to their soldiers upon entering the provinces: "Here we are in the enemy's country" (19, p. 780).

"Reforms" in Alsace-Lorraine

In 1911 the so-called "reforms" of the new constitution of the *Reichsland* were promulgated, but they were a hollow mockery, since they but tightened the reins of the government. The legislature was made bi-cameral and three delegates (appointed by the Kaiser through his *Statthalter*), were sent to the Imperial *Bundesrat*. This but illustrates the saying of Balzac: "There is one instrument the Germans have never learned to play, that instrument is liberty."

German propaganda concerning Alsace

When now we read in the press dispatches, as we have read during this war, that the Legislature of Alsace-Lorraine has declared by a large majority its devotion to the cause of Germany, it is but necessary to recall that the bi-cameral Legislature is modeled upon the *Landtag* of Prussia, and that therefore it could by no possibility express the will of the people.

Menace of Mittel-Europa

In a series of striking communications entitled "America after the war" and published anonymously in the New York *Times*, one who signed himself "An American Jurist," has early in the present year [1918] exploited Germany's well-known plan of *Mittel-Europa* in a way to give the impression that this plan would be in the interest of America (21).

To this insidious doctrine, which involves the retention of the Dual Monarchy of the Hapsburgs as a part

of the German Empire, the complete subjugation of the Balkans, and the taking over by Germany of the entire former Turkish Empire, I made reply at the time in the same metropolitan journal. Even though this was written before the entire collapse of Russia, I think I may repeat the essential parts of the discussion here. After pointing out that the author of the articles took no account of the contrasted democratic and autocratic ideals which have actuated the two opposing groups of warring powers, my reply went on to say:

"My other chief criticism relates to the following statement found in Chapter IV. of the series:

The "Central Block" and America

" 'That at the end of the war the alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire will not be disrupted is most probable. It is a natural alliance, dictated by the interests of the German Empire, Austria, and Turkey. The alliance ought not to be offensive to America.'

"The jurist goes on to give as the reason for the last statement that it will insure the continuance of the Entente coalition sympathetic to America.

"In this quoted paragraph is involved what in Germany is considered the chief issue of the war, now that the initial plan of immediate subjugation of France and Russia has been defeated. Should a premature peace be secured upon this basis, semi-official German publicists express the belief that the objects of the war will be eventually realized. Quite unwittingly, no doubt, our American jurist has presented the German viewpoint in almost the German phraseology.

Weakness of arguments of "American jurist"

"In order to reply to his statements—he has passed over the subject almost without discussion—it is only necessary to cite facts quite generally known. We will consider the three points seriatim:

"1. The so-called Alliance of the Central Powers is no longer in existence, having been replaced by a feudal empire governed from Berlin.

"2. This feudal empire is not dictated by the interests of Austria and Turkey, but by those of Germany alone, as is perhaps sufficiently evidenced by the bitterly hostile feeling which it has stirred up both in Vienna and Constantinople.

"3. Far from this condition not being 'regarded as offensive to America,' or 'its continuation hostile to the best interests of America,' it is believed, upon the contrary, to be the chief menace to our existence as a nation.

"There is in America to-day little understanding of the real significance of Germany's scheme of *Mittel-Europa*, her 'central block' of states ranged on the axis of the continent along the 'corridor route' of the Balkans and the Bagdad Railway, the scheme of 'Hamburg to the Persian Gulf,' which under many catch phrases has long been preached in Germany. The German documents of most interest are curiously not to be found in the libraries of New York City, but are fortunately reviewed with some fullness in the translated writings of André Chéradame, the authority of twenty years of experience and study of the question upon the ground in all the countries involved. [*The Pan-German Plot Unmasked, Berlin's Formidable Peace Trap of the "Drawn War,"* with an introduction by Lord Cromer, Scribners, 1917, pp. 235; and *Pan-Germanism, the Disease and Cure*, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1917, pp. 129.] (23–24.)

"With measurable assurance it is now possible to forecast that if Germany's vast peace intrigues should score no additional successes, she will agree eventually to relinquish, in order to secure the peace for which her people are clamoring, all the occupied territory of Belgium, France, Serbia, Roumania, Italy, and Montenegro; *provided that she is permitted to retain her strangle hold upon the 'central block,' including the Ottoman Empire.*

Germany's scheme

With equal assurance we may predict that she will on these conditions have triumphed, though with some delay in the realization of her conquests. This will be true because: (1) she will be able to recruit her armies even when all conquered enemy territory has been relinquished, upon the basis of a population of more than one hundred and seventy millions of people, as against the seventy millions in the Germany of 1914; (2) in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia are to be found most of the staples for the lack of which, blockaded, she is now in distress—food-stuffs, cotton, wool, and petroleum, and (3) the Entente coalition now arrayed against her, if once broken, could not in a generation be realigned to oppose her. Her reacquisition therefore, of all relinquished territory would be accomplished gradually and progressively through economic pressure of the *Zollverein*, and in the last resort by military force if necessary.

"My second point, that a vassal Ottoman Empire would make the future Germany self-supporting under blockade, is perhaps in need of further explanation. Let me, therefore, in the capacity of a geologist and geographer develop the subject. Mesopotamia, the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, is to-day a desert only because of the blight of Turkish control. In this broad valley were the traditional Garden of Eden and the flourishing empires of antiquity. Bagdad was once the cotton mart of the world.

Ottoman Empire would supply new material

"Fertile and with abundant supply of water, it is an axiom of applied science that the deltas of the world are its great producing areas—its granaries and its fiber storehouses, to supply man's most vital needs of food and clothing. The four hundred millions of China dwell upon the deltas of the Hoang and Yangtze rivers, the three hundred millions of India upon the deltas of the Ganges, Irrawaddy, and Brahmaputra, the teeming masses of Egyptians upon the Nile delta, and

The Delta of Mesopotamia

the most dense population of Europe, upon the deltas of the Rhine and Schelde in Belgium.

"Engineering works and efficient management are all that are necessary for a reclamation, so rapid as almost to surpass belief. The plans have already been drawn by Sir William Willcocks, the genius of the Nile irrigation projects, which will transform the Mesopotamian valley into a vast plantation for cereals and cotton, the fifteen per cent. of lime in the Mesopotamian soil adapting it to easy reclamation as compared with the dense clays of the Nile. [Sir William Willcocks's *The Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, Spon. London, 1911, pp. 136, and atlas.] It has been shown that the ancient canal systems of Assyria and Babylon can be utilized and modern irrigation works be installed with only moderate outlay.

Reclamation of Mesopotamia

"The recent development of irrigation plants in a district of India transformed the country so rapidly that the whole scheme was jeopardized because the railroad could not handle the produce. The engineers of General Maude's army in Mesopotamia have, by the construction of a barrage twenty miles in length, reclaimed a relatively small area along the lower Tigris, upon which have already been raised the cereals, poultry, and dairy products sufficient to supply the entire army, so that the shipment of excess products to England is a matter of the near future. (25.)

Phenomenal results of reclamation in India

"It is the Turks alone who have prevented the development of Mesopotamia, and after referring to his pride of race in what has been accomplished in Egypt, Sir William Willcocks has penned this scorching denunciation:

The blight of Turkish control

" 'How should I have felt if, in traversing the deserts and swamps which to-day represent what was before the Arab conquest the richest and most famous tract in the world, I had thought that I was a scion of a race in whose hands God has placed, for hundreds of years, the destinies of this great country, and that my countrymen could give

no better account of their stewardship than the exhibition of two mighty rivers flowing between deserts to waste themselves in the sea for nine months of the year, and desolating everything in their way during the remaining three? No effort that Turkey can make can be too great to roll away the reproach of these parched and weary lands, whose cry ascends to Heaven.'

"In the hands of British engineers the disastrous floods have now for the first time in many years been prevented. Though it might require a century to reclaim the hill country of Palestine from the blight of Turkish control, the transformation of Mesopotamia will come about like veriest magic.

British transformation of Mesopotamia

"Already northern Mesopotamia from Nisibin is joined to Constantinople by the German-owned Bagdad Railroad across Asia Minor, through the now completed tunnels of the Taurus mountains. [Morris Jastrow, *The War and the Bagdad Railway*, Lippincott, 1917, pp. 166, and map.] Relatively easy construction remains in order to extend the railway to tap the naphtha region of Kerkuk and reach Bagdad and the Persian Gulf beyond.

"From Constantinople the Balkan Railway follows the valleys of the Maritza and Morava, the time-honored and unique 'corridor route' through Bulgaria and Serbia to Austria, a route now in German possession throughout as a result either of 'alliance' or conquest. Since long before this war German publicists have hardly attempted to conceal their delight that once in full possession of this interior route, the shortest to India, Germany would be in a position to challenge England's hold both upon India and Egypt.

The "Corridor Route"

"Excepting only the possible German conquest, one after the other, of the disintegrated parts of the Russian Empire before a strong nation can arise to unite them, no war problem carries such a menace as the unholy feudal empire of *Mittel-Europa*, the now consolidated stronghold of absolute government. Though she has not triumphed

over her enemies, Germany has conquered her allies, though the full significance of this is hardly grasped as yet.

"The solution will be reached when the anachronism of the Hapsburg Empire, in which 21,000,000 Germans and Magyars tyrannize over 28,000,000 grouped in alien nations, is broken by the independence of the Czechs in Bohemia and by the union of the Jugo-Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina with their brothers in Serbia. President Wilson seems to refer to this in his recent war-aims message to Congress, in which he says: 'The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.' Such development, it hardly needs be said, cannot exist under either the Hapsburg Empire of 1914 or under the Germany which is to-day the overlord." (22.)

Necessity of break-up of Ottoman Empire

How important this scheme of *Mittel-Europa* has been regarded by Germany is indicated in a secret memorandum sent by the late Chancellor Michaelis to the Austrian Government, which reads: "Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of the route to the southeast." The entire central block of states from northern Germany to southern Mesopotamia was bound firmly together by the Berlin to Bagdad Railway, largely completed at the outbreak of the war.

In order to checkmate the scheme of Teuton *Mittel-Europa* from the economic as well as the military side, there exists the necessity for a rail route uniting the countries of southern Europe for commercial advantages. The project, of Paul Claudel (26) is for a railway running in a general east-west direction across southern Europe

The rail route along the 45th parallel

closely in correspondence with the 45th parallel; a scheme which has been supported by George Hersent, a well-known authority upon public works. From France this railway would make connections with the Ukraine and Russia, passing on its way through the rich valley of the Po in Northern Italy and along the ancient trade route to Belgrade and to Bucharest and Odessa. Branch lines would connect with Salonika, Constantinople, and Bagdad. Through giving the democratic nations a trade route of their own, they would have the power to meet the exactions hitherto imposed by Germany, and promote their own trade with Switzerland, the Balkan states, and Russia. From Ukraine France could perhaps obtain needed coal, and the road would be an important element in the defense on the part of the great allied Powers of the small and helpless states of the Balkan Peninsula.

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XVIII

INTERNATIONALISM VERSUS A LEAGUE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

"It [Internationalism] is an attempt to reduce all integers to ciphers and then add them up and find the sum of perfection. It hopes to make everybody a nobody, and then suddenly produce the perfect man and the perfect state."—WILLIAM E. ELLIS.

"The rule of law and the equality of all before it, an untrammeled and compelling public opinion, self-government as against autocracy and bureaucracy, the absence of a military spirit and caste, and the stress laid upon individual right as against the undue claims of a state, are some of the fundamental features uniting in one common civilization all the English-speaking peoples."—GEORGE LOUIS BEER.

"The British Empire is not founded on might or force, but on moral principles—on principles of freedom, equality, and equity. It is these principles which we stand for to-day as an Empire in this mighty struggle."—GEN. JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS.

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held."—WORDSWORTH.

THE war has been a great educator, and the questions of greatest moment to-day are, first, in how far the knowledge gained is to be permanent; and, second, what proportion of our people have been affected by this salutary course of instruction.

The world war an educator

If we look back over our history for the answer, the result is far from encouraging. Again and again have disasters enforced lessons, and though these were to some extent appreciated at the time, such knowledge

has not generally survived its generation against the assaults of the Fourth of July orator and the professional pacifist barn-stormer built on the Bryan model.

For the moment the word *pacifist* has become unpopular; now that those who did not raise their boys to be soldiers, have seen them, all too late for any early issue of the war, departing from their homes for the front. But what's in a name, after all? Will not *internationalist* serve as well, and without drawing attention to its now unpopular antecedents?

Internationalism the new pacifism

It would seem almost as though pacifism is peculiar to no race or time, but is, rather, something constitutional depending upon a paucity of red corpuscles in the blood—a kind of pernicious mental and moral anæmia—and hence not cured by even the most powerful of remedies; but, like that dread disease, characterized by an optimism which nothing can shake.

Pacifism is perennial

Every long and exhausting war, if we may trust the historians, has brought with it a wave of aversion for war, with which has come inevitably the conviction that it is the last war of the long series. Being, then, the last war, there is of course no reason why visionary schemes which the past has conclusively shown to be impracticable, may not now, under the wholly changed conditions, become the great cure-alls for human ills.

The "last war"

The condition when the series of wars between the rival Mediterranean states of antiquity had come to their end is thus described by Admiral Mahan:

"When Carthage fell and Rome moved onward, without an equal enemy against whom to guard, to the dominion

of the world of Mediterranean civilization, she approached and gradually realized the reign of universal peace, broken only by those intestine social and political dissensions which are finding their dark analogues in our modern times of infrequent war. As the strife between nations of that civilization died away, material prosperity, general cultivation and luxury flourished, while the weapons dropped nervelessly from their palsied arms. The genius of Cæsar, in his Gallic and Germanic campaigns, built up an outside barrier, which like a dike for centuries postponed the inevitable end, but which also, like every artificial barrier, gave way when the strong masculine impulse which first erected it had degenerated into that worship of comfort, wealth, and general softness, which is the ideal of the peace prophets of to-day. The wave of the invaders broke in—the rains descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and beat upon the house, and it fell, because not founded upon the rock of virile reliance upon strong hands and brave hearts to defend what was dear to them." (1.)

The warning in the fall of Rome

It seems, according to the psychology of the late pacifists, that the thing which could not possibly happen, did happen, and, for this reason, it could not have been foreseen by anyone, however wise—even by the pacifists themselves. We are now, therefore, facing the exception which merely proves the rule that wars cannot be waged in modern times by reason of the great expense, the great derangement of the economic system, etc., as duly set down aforetime by Norman Angell, *et al.*

Psychology of pacifists

The formula of the pacifist seems now to be that national ideals, built as they are upon cultures which have their roots far back in the past, are to be given up; and hereafter all is to be thrown into a common receptacle.

The least common multiple of nationalities

One of the most dangerous advocates of internationalism, because of the power of her pen, writes from Paris under the fire of the 80-mile gun and makes one of her characters in a story speak her thought:

"Nationalism is the seed of war. *Dulce et decorum* is death for an ideal, but not for a geographical boundary! Christ died for people, not for nations. We must learn to think of ourselves not as French or Americans or Germans, but as we were born—just poor little naked *humans!* When we do that the foolishness of war will end. . . . An allied victory will greatly strengthen nationalism. . . .

"It is a Hope! Eons off perhaps, but a Hope. The hope of the upward curve of the spiral after it has dipped into the primeval. Back again, these people say, to the beginnings of things, to wash us clean of an unreality which has mistaken geographical boundaries for spiritual values. . . . Then up—up—up toward the singing heights." (2.)

Miss Deland has been too long confined among the miseries of a great city in war time, and should go out into the mountains and inhale the fresh air until she has rid herself of such morbid notions.

We may confidently expect that such a mixing in the human species of mental and moral strains extending from the highest to the lowest, will yield a product not essentially different from that which on the physical side is to be observed among the lower animals—the pariah of its class, the least common multiple of all dogs, the yellow cur.

I have been much impressed by the advice which a father, after seeing much of the world, has given his son who has received a commission in the United States Army. The father writes from abroad:

"I should write you frankly about what I consider the three greatest menaces of the present hour. As a good soldier of the coming day, you should be prepared for them; for they are especially threatening the high-spirited youth of many lands.

"Perhaps, recalling the many speeches you have heard me make upon America's duty to the whole world and the perils of our provincialism, you will think it strange that I put first the danger to civilization from the current 'internationalism.' I can imagine what your radical young professor of social science would say to my indictment! But he lives in a world of books, and I have just come out of Russia. He knows the theory; I know the thing. And this cult of 'internationalism,' which is sweeping sentimentalists in many lands away from whatever moorings they once had, is, bluntly, a worse menace to the whole world's welfare than Prussianism itself.

Internationalism a greater danger than Prussianism

"It is an attempt to reduce all integers to ciphers and then add them up and find the sum of perfection.

"It hopes to make everybody a nobody and then suddenly produce the perfect man and the perfect state. . . .

"It was in Russia, which is fairly rotten with this specious idea, that I came to see clearly that 'internationalism' is fundamentally a vast disloyalty. It breaks old allegiances and offers none that are new or better. For up to date the only way a man can be loyal to the race as a whole is by loyalty to that section of it of which he is a part. . . . These poor dreamers acted as if they thought they could build up humanity by wrecking Russia. If I am not mistaken, it will yet prove the greatest disservice ever done by one nation to the whole world. While it may be only the mist that precedes the sunrise, I very much fear that it is a fog of death." (3.)

The awful lesson of Russia

I have quoted at such length because Mr. Ellis is speaking to his son out of a great experience of what

this menace to the world really is; and I wish his counsel might be read by every young man whether in or out of the army service. How few of us stop to think what we would do were we to be robbed of those ideals which we hold none the less tenaciously because they are subconscious and seldom expressed in words. What it means for a people to surrender its individuality and become cogs in a state machine with ideals and volition relinquished, we are now learning from the public spectacle of Germany running *amok*.

The lesson of German loss of individualism

As the surrender of the institution of the family is now in Germany being added to that of the individual, we may expect to see the nation sink to depths not yet sounded. It will be the aim of Germany to drag the world down with her, and the peculiar raucous timbre of the Teuton vocalization is distinctly recognizable in the cry of internationalism.

We of the English-speaking nations may well pause to consider how much we owe to the ideals which we cherish for our country—ideals which are a composite of the most self-denying acts of our bravest and best. How many a man has been true to his ideals under temptation because of the fear of putting a stain upon the shield of his country; and it is a commonplace that once a man loses his self-respect, his descent is swift and sure.

The power of ideals

What has man, indeed, to live for in this world except his family and his country? It may, indeed, be possible to embody the devotion to a country in a military hero like Napoleon—never so remarkably portrayed as in the words and music of Schumann's *Die beiden Grenadiere*. Such idolatry is, however, foreign to the English-speaking peoples, and I have been amazed to

find the song of Kaiserism included among the musical selections of a patriotic meeting.

In the democratic state, the family, the home, and the nation are linked together, and a striking illustration of this was afforded by the history of the Pilgrims in New England. Because of their hardships and their meager resources, they were driven to a communal life, which, however, had to be abandoned for the reason that the colonists were soon found to be losing interest in their enterprise. The incentive to make a home for himself and a woman, a home where a man may enjoy with his wife the fruits of his labor, and where he is ever striving to better his condition—the great driving power in human life—was lacking in the communal state. It is an impelling force, the mainsprings of which are love and ambition; and it is this which gives hope and which arms the man to face the hard condition of his lot with fortitude and without complaint. With a vision which now seems prophetic, Mr. Kipling has revealed this ideal of the family home as the impelling force in our civilization, and it is the answer to the Kaiser-bred cult of internationalism, as it is being preached to-day. Though somewhat long and not as well known as it should be, I shall take the liberty of quoting this poem of Mr. Kipling entitled *An Imperial Rescript:*

Link between family and state

"Now this is the tale of the Council the German Kaiser decreed,
To ease the strong of their burden, to help the weak in their need;
He sent a word to the peoples, who struggle, and pant, and sweat,
That the straw might be counted fairly and the tally of bricks be set.

"The Lords of Their Hands assembled; from the East and the West they drew—
Baltimore, Lille, and Essen, Brummagem, Clyde, and Crewe.
And some were black from the furnace, and some were brown from the soil,
And some were blue from the dye-vat; but all were wearied of toil.

"And the young King said: 'I have found it, the road to the rest ye seek,
'The strong shall wait for the weary, the hale shall halt for the weak;
'With the even tramp of an army where no man breaks from the line,
'Ye shall march to peace and plenty in the bond of brotherhood—sign!'

"The paper lay on the table, the strong heads bowed thereby,
And a wail went up from the peoples: 'Ay, sign—give rest, for we die!'
A hand was stretched to the goose-quill, a fist was cramped to scrawl,
When —the laugh of a blue-eyed maiden ran clear through the council-hall.

"And each one heard Her laughing as each one saw Her plain—
Saidie, Mimi, or Olga, Gretchen, or Mary Jane.
And the Spirit of Man that is in Him to the light of the vision woke;
And the men drew back from the paper, as a Yankee delegate spoke:

"'There's a girl in Jersey City who works on the telephone:
'We're going to hitch our horses and dig for a house of our own.

'With gas and water connections, and steam-heat through to the top;
'And W. Hohenzollern, I guess I shall work till I drop.'

"And an English delegate thundered: 'The weak an' the lame be blowed!
'I've a berth in the Sou'-West workshops, a home in the Wandsworth Road;
'And till the 'sociation has footed my buryin' bill,
'I work for the kids an' the missus. Pull up! I'll be damned if I will!'

"And over the German benches the bearded whisper ran:
'Lager, der girls und der dollars, dey makes or dey breaks a man.
'If Schmitt haf collared der dollars, he collars der girl deremit;
'But if Schmitt bust in der pizness, we collars der girl from Schmitt.

"They passed one resolution: 'Your sub-committee believe
'You can lighten the curse of Adam when you've lightened the curse of Eve.
'But till we are built like angels—with hammer and chisel and pen,
'We will work for ourself and a woman, forever and ever. Amen.'

"Now this is the tale of the Council the German Kaiser held——
The day that they razored the Grindstone, the day that the Cat was belled,
The day of the Figs from Thistles, the day of the Twisted Sands,
The day that the laugh of a maiden made light of the Lords of Their Hands." (4.)

In this poem of an Imperial Rescript Mr. Kipling a full quarter of a century ago, with a gift peculiarly

his own, has forecast the hollow mockery of internationalism, and shown us how it strikes at the very foundations of our social structure. In some form or other this dogma will be at the bottom of the next peace drive, already due, and the hope of the world must be that the lesson of the Soviet program and the "peace" of Brest-Litovsk has not been lost upon the world.

Basis of later peace drive

Like internationalism, there has been proposed as a cure-all for all our troubles, the League to Enforce Peace: the one is a remedy demanded by the proletariat, the other the formula of the cloistered intellectuals. Both schemes aim to do away with war; but the men who know most of war, the professional and notably the experienced soldiers, are conspicuously out of sympathy with both programs. It is easy to raise the cry that the soldier by accepting the doctrine of a League to Enforce Peace would destroy his means of livelihood; but it is even easier to answer, for no one hates war as does the man who knows most about it.

The League to enforce peace

The League to Enforce Peace includes in its membership many persons of high distinction, and it owes much of its prestige to the standing of its head, Ex-President Taft, who has steadily grown in popular esteem. Since in his capacity as President of the League, Mr. Taft as late as 1916 has clearly and concisely set forth its objects, we may make his statement the basis of discussion. He says:

"The plan contemplates an international agreement signed by as many powers as can be induced to sign it. The first provision is for a permanent Court of Justice International, with jurisdiction to consider and decide all controversies of a justiciable character arising between two

or more members of the League, the power of the Court to be extended to passing upon questions finally and in a binding way upon whether the issue presented is a justiciable one and, therefore, within the jurisdiction of the Court. The second provision is that all questions not of a justiciable character, leading to differences between two or more members of the League, are to be presented to a Commission before which evidence is to be introduced, arguments are to be made, and then the Commission is to recommend something in the nature of a compromise. The third provision is that if any one member of the League, violating its pledged faith, shall begin hostilities against any other member of the League before the questions creating the trouble have been submitted either for decision by the Court or for recommendation by the Commission, then all the other members of the League agree to defend the member prematurely attacked against the one who begins the hostilities; and to use, first, economic means, and then military force for that purpose. The fourth plank provides that international congresses shall be convened with representatives from all members of the League, who shall consider the subject of International Law, shall extend it in a legislative way and submit the changes thus agreed upon to the nations constituting the League. If there is no objection within a year, then the rules changing or extending existing International Law shall be considered as rules for the decision of the permanent Court." (5, p. 4.)

Mr. Taft's outline of the purposes of the League

Now a proper criticism of this scheme is that it would be very beautiful if it were at all practical. It is an almost ideal arrangement for a world of nations all actuated by a genuine desire to avoid war on any and all occasions. Unfortunately the world is not so constituted, and until selfishness and greed can be eliminated, we may as well give up laying plans for the

millennium. A glance across the Atlantic does not make us optimistic concerning an early realization of Utopia.

Court of Justice International

The permanent Court of Justice International should without question be set up for those nations which are truly democratic; for the history of the past fifty years has shown, notably in the case of the fisheries and sealing disputes between the United States and Great Britain, that when non-militaristic nations have a genuine desire to settle their justiciable quarrels amicably, it can generally be accomplished by this means.

The plan to let the International Court rather than the individual nations decide what questions are justiciable and submit them to a commission for *compromise* settlement, is a transparent attempt to cover up in verbiage an irrepressible difficulty not to be disposed of by such artifices.

The late Augustus P. Gardner in his brutally frank but equally convincing manner has stated some obvious facts as they relate to the practical phases of this question. Said Major Gardner:

Representative Gardner's comments upon the League

"And now comes along another plan of the dove for clipping the talons of the hawk—a League to Enforce Peace, with an International Court composed of a judge from Japan, and a judge from Germany, and a judge from China, and a judge from Russia and a judge from Heaven knows where, to settle international disputes; and an international army and navy to back up the decrees. That is the proposition. Vague and ill-considered as is this proposal which has been so deftly flung out, it has nevertheless dampened the ardor of the people for the preparedness movement, because there is no sense in going

ahead with a preparedness program if eternal peace is on the way. . . .

"I wonder whether we would be willing to submit the Monroe Doctrine to arbitration. I am not sure but we would; we are getting pretty wobbly. After peace has been declared in Europe, suppose that Germany goes before the International Court and says: 'Here, Mexico is cheating us out of a lot of money. The United States says that it will not collect the money for us, and furthermore it says that we must not send our troops to collect our money for ourselves. Is that right?' How is the International Court going to decide? Is it going to decide in favor of the Monroe Doctrine, or is it going to decide in favor of the various nations which have interests in Mexico? What are we going to do about it if the Court decides against us? Are we going to enforce the Doctrine? If so, we had better map the plan out, so that there will be no question about our enforcing it, before we agree to enter an International League to Enforce Peace. The President [Mr. Wilson] very clearly sidesteps that issue. He tells us we are to have a Monroe Doctrine of the World.

The Monroe Doctrine and the League

"The Monroe Doctrine for this continent is dangerous enough, but God save us from a Monroe Doctrine of the World, which would force us at the bidding of a group of international lawyers, to take every foreign quarrel upon our shoulders." (6.)

But how about the international police that is to enforce peace? Mr. Taft tells us that after much consideration, "it was concluded that we ought not to be over-ambitious" along that line. Mr. Bryan says: "I prefer to have this nation a moral power in the world rather than a policeman." But suppose the international police is provided for, and is called out to meet a quarrel of

An International police

Germany with a neighbor, or far more probably an assault without preliminaries of any kind. Does the study of the present war lead to the belief that a nondescript force summoned together from various nations and continents would arrive before all was over; and, even if it did arrive, would be of the slightest effectiveness against a force fitted out in secrecy and launched with every detail provided for? To ask the question is to answer it.

As regards the difficulties in the way of securing united action on the part of the various governments concerned, we have only to make a study of the "concert" of the Great Powers provided for in the Treaty of Berlin for the purpose of keeping peace in the Balkans and interposing a barrier to the Armenian atrocities of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid. The "concert" resulted in continuous dissonance, for Germany invariably sided with the Turk, and the other Great Powers were powerless to act. I recommend to the League to Enforce Peace a careful study of this chapter of history. The agents of the Powers who were stationed with the Turkish officers in command of the vilayets, in order to see that the terms of the treaty were faithfully complied with, came to be called in the local expression "Yes Effendis"—"Yes Sirs."

A wise man has said: "The permanent peace of the world can be secured only through the gradual concentration of preponderant military strength in the hands of the most pacific nations." It is the old doctrine of "balance of power" with a vitally important addition, and one which aims to place the alliance upon the sound basis of a common aim and purpose. The war now raging has by a wholly natural process aligned in opposition to

A "balance of power" of the democratic nations

the aggressive autocratic nations those nations which are for the greater part at least pacific and democratic. This may at least be said of the nations that are now playing the principal rôles in the European conflict.

A central nucleus among the Entente nations is now the group which is bound together by a common language, common historical antecedents, and common purposes—the group of actually great and potentially greater commonwealths of self-governing states, miscalled the British Empire, and with them the United States of America.

An inner league of the English-speaking peoples

That the unquestionably divergent tendency inherent in differences of speech may under the storm and stress of exceptional world strife become subordinate to the converging influence of a great and ennobling common purpose, was demonstrated in the indissoluble union of German-speaking Alsace with French-speaking Lorraine—a union welded in the fierce heat of the French Revolution. Have we not in this a hopeful augury that the nations of French and English speech, and perhaps also Italian, are in future to be joined in the bonds of the greater league of democratic nations—a "league to enforce peace" which, based on democratic systems of military training, will have in their common purpose and high ideals the necessary element of permanence?

Nothing augurs so strongly for the early realization of this happy consummation as the joint celebration this year throughout the English-speaking countries and in France of the great milestones of liberty, the fall of the Bastille and the Declaration of Independence. "An intimate like-mindedness," says Professor Dunning with

Joint celebration of liberty anniversaries

much force, "is the indispensable factor in permanent international amity."

Italy a partner

In this group of democratic nations Italy is already a partner for the war, and it is to be hoped that she will remain when the war is over; for there is no bar to this in her ideals of government. The smaller martyred nations of Belgium, Roumania, and Serbia, in their helpless condition, must for a time at least be the wards of the league pledged to their protection against aggression and absorption. All will hope that the liberty-loving Czecho-Slovaks will arise a powerful and independent nation, of which their splendid achievements in the past no less than in the present are rich in promise. As regards the great inert mass of Russia, it is as yet too early to say whether the sun of our hopes is rising or sinking; albeit our future and that of the world as well is inextricably bound up with the fate of that vast and unhappy country.

Germany and her vassals outside the league

There remain among the so-called civilized nations Germany and the other autocracies which are now her vassals, all entrenched in the heart of Europe and extending their territory through recent conquests down through the corridor of the Balkans to and beyond the Bosphorus into Asia. What is to be their relation to the proposed league of the democratic nations? Are we to take the modern barbarians to our bosoms at the conclusion of their wild riot of destruction, with the great human stud-farm of Germany already producing cannon-fodder for the next war in a program of conquest quite as much accepted by the German people as by their military leaders? If we do we thereby seal our doom and that of those who come after us.

Yet the League to Enforce Peace aims at no exclu-

sions. Says Mr. Taft: "The plan contemplates an international agreement signed by as many powers as can be induced to sign it" (22); and Mr. Wilson in speaking before that body on May 27, 1916, refers specifically to "a universal association of nations."

Upon this vitally important subject France has the greatest right to be heard, for not only has she of all the larger nations suffered most from German aggression, but geography has ordained that she shall be ever exposed to invasion from her barbarous enemy to the eastward. Premier Clemenceau's paper, now the *L'Homme Libre*, says with great force: "What head of a state would ever consent to put his name at the foot of a treaty with that of the criminal and lying Hohenzollerns?" The more moderate Paris *Temps* is equally condemnatory:

"So long as Germany remains what she is, she excludes herself by her own act from any society of nations which she cannot herself control after the Prussian manner. To try and convince her by argument of the necessity of giving up the religion of force and relinquish the spirit of war is illusory.

"A society of free nations, inveterately allied against the powers of prey, is a reality which may be foreshadowed with confidence as a normal stage in evolution, but to try to create a league in which would be found alike free men and serfs, victims and executioners, those who have suffered and those who have not expiated their crimes, would be a blunder." (7.)

That these undoubtedly correct reflections of the French attitude are shared by those other martyr nations, who, though small, have the best right to be heard at the peace council, there is little reason to doubt.

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XIX

THE TEACHING OF PATRIOTISM

"We can with justice say that public and national morality is largely the reflection of the education of our youth."—GENERAL LEONARD WOOD.

"We have never even named the foundations of their liberty to American youth. Much less have we told them the story of the storms which for centuries raged around the building of those foundations, nor of the blood and sacrifice and suffering which went into the construction; and we have never mentioned the subject to immigrant citizens. . . . We do not even take the trouble to bring to American citizens the knowledge of the history of the rights which make them free. If we did it would become a religion arousing all Americans at any sign of danger."—LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

"Military history is much obscured by the survivor, the historian and the journalist. They are virtually banded in an unholy alliance to tell us everything except what we really ought to know."—R. M. JOHNSTON.

Uninstructed the issue of this war was not perceived

MOST of us are now agreed that we are engaged in a war to defend our liberties and those of our allied nations against autocratic domination, and that the issue has been the same from the beginning; yet a little more than two years ago, after the war had already been raging nearly as long a time, Mr. Wilson won his reëlection to the presidency because he had kept us out of the struggle.

How is it that we understand the issue now, but did not then? The issue itself has not changed from what it was at the beginning; for the purposes of Germany,

even if not perceived before the war was launched, could not be covered up after attention had been focused upon her conduct by the conflict itself. The answer is that we have received an expensive course of instruction through chastisement, instruction which, had it been given at the proper time in the public schools, would have spared us both a great sacrifice and a national humiliation.

We must first of all correct much misconception concerning what the history of this country has been. The cult of pacifism and the anti-preparedness movement could never have availed to leave us unprepared, after having been shielded for two and a half years by the allied Powers in Europe, but for the fact that our history instruction in the public schools had led us to suppose that the American military policy of trusting to the vicious volunteer system with its raw levies raised after, rather than before war, had been uniformly successful in the past.

Distortion of history in school teaching

Technically it is true that the American nation has never lost a war, and out of this, coupled with our vicious teaching, has come the idea that we are invincible even without preparation. But as General Wood has expressed it, "This country has never engaged single-handed in a war with a nation of the first class prepared for war" (1, p. 76). And he goes on to say:

Past success in war illusory

"We have no markedly superior military virtues; as a people, the blood of all peoples runs in our veins. We live under a form of government which tends to develop individuality and self-confidence, good qualities if coördinated and harmonized by discipline. But there is nothing which indicates peculiar or superior military excellence, and there

is nothing in our military history upon which we can found such an assumption. We have splendid material for soldiers, if trained, but without training that material is relatively of little value.

"There seems to be a general impression that, having blundered through our past wars with a hideously unnecessary expenditure of life and treasure, somehow or other we shall continue to blunder on successfully, regardless of lack of preparation on our part or of thorough organization and preparation on the part of our possible antagonists. Such an opinion is absolutely unwarranted." (1, p. 76.)

Land battles of Revolution and the War of 1812 discreditable to us

The impression gained from our school histories is that, despite our raw levies of troops and local militia companies, with which our campaigns have generally been fought, we have almost invariably won glorious victories upon the field, and even with odds against us in numbers. This is as far as possible from being true. Regarded as a whole, our military history is one to look back upon with shame, and it is so looked upon by competent American military critics. Says General Emory Upton, author of that most valuable work, *The Military Policy of the United States*, and the greatest of our military historians:

"Up to the Mexican War there was little that was glorious in our military history. In the Revolution, the Continentals and Regulars often displayed a valor deserving of victory, but which was snatched away by the misconduct of undisciplined troops.

"In the War of 1812 the discipline and victories of the Navy alone saved the country from dishonor. On the land the historian of the army was glad to slur over needless disasters, to dwell on the heroism in the open field displayed by the Regulars at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.

The Mexican War was a succession of victories. The Volunteers as well as the Regulars were disciplined troops.

"The Rebellion began with the defeat at Bull Run, but the multitude of subsequent battles proved that the valor of disciplined American troops, be they Regulars or Volunteers, cannot be excelled by the best armies of Europe." (2, p. 5.)

Even the Revolutionary spirit of patriotism of which so much has been made was far from being general, and the desertions traceable to panic and cowardice took on appalling proportions. All this record of military inefficiency and worse is traceable not to any inferior quality of our people, but solely to the vicious policy which in defiance of Washington's counsel we have followed from the beginning.

Washington's opinion

In the War of the Revolution, with a total enrollment of nearly 400,000 soldiers, against something more than a third of that number of the enemy (3, p. 40), the greatest force of colonial troops available at any time was 89,000, and at no time was Washington able to secure an effective force of 20,000 men (1, p. 99). Says Washington in a letter to the President of Congress, bearing date of August 20, 1780:

"Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning, which by the continuance of the same men in service, had been capable of discipline, we never should have had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware in 1776, trembling for the fate of America, which nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved; we should not have remained all the succeeding winter at their mercy, with sometimes scarcely a sufficient body of men to mount the ordinary guards, liable at every moment to be dissipated, if they had only thought proper to march against us; we should not have been under the necessity of fighting Brandywine, with an unequal number of raw troops, and

afterwards of seeing Philadelphia fall a prey to a victorious army; we should not have been at Valley Forge with less than half the force of the enemy, destitute of everything, in a situation neither to resist nor to retire; we should not have seen New York left with a handful of men, yet an overmatch for the main army of these states while the principal part of their force was detached for the reduction of two of them; we should not have found ourselves this spring so weak as to be insulted by five thousand men, unable to protect our baggage and magazines, their security depending on a good countenance and a want of enterprise in the enemy; we should not have been the greatest part of the war inferior to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing inviting opportunities to ruin them pass unimproved for want of a force which the country was completely able to afford." (1.)

The Revolutionary spirit

Our school histories tell us of the wonderful burst of patriotism which came at the outbreak of the Revolution, and that this was nowhere so marked as in New England. Let General Washington tell us of the real condition when he was trying to raise troops in New England. On November 11, 1775, he wrote that officers sent in their names in expectation of promotion, and that others stood aloof to see what advantages were to come to them. Soldiers would not enlist until they knew just what officers they were to have. Writing on November 28, 1775, he said:

"I am sorry to be necessitated to mention to you the egregious want of public spirit which reigns here. Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time."

A little later he wrote:

"Such a dearth of public spirit and such a want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again" (1, p. 94).

England's attitude distorted

Our grammar school histories have also greatly distorted the attitude taken by the mother country in the Revolutionary War, and thus done much to arouse antipathy and hatred. Says George L. Knapp:

"Our school histories tell us of the strong pro-American stand of Burke and Fox, but they do not tell us that the sentiments of these intellectual giants were shared by hosts of lesser men. Yet such was the case. The war was forced on the colonies by the Tories, and by the King as foremost of Tories; but the great majority of the non-Tory population of Britain deplored and condemned it. Camden wrote to Chatham in 1775: 'The landed interests are almost altogether anti-American, though the common people hold the war in abhorrence, and the merchants and tradesmen for obvious reasons are likewise against it.'" (4.)

Said Sir George Trevelyan, the distinguished author of *The American Revolution:*

"The war was marked by a feature unique in English history. Not a few officers of every grade, who were, for the most part, distinguished by valor and ability, flatly refused to serve against the colonies. And their scruples were respected by their countrymen in general, and by the King and his ministers as well. . . . The American war, from the outset to the finish, was an open question in English society. A general or colonel who had refused to

take a command lived pleasantly and comfortably among his country neighbors." (5, pt. ii., vol. ii., p. 211.)

Military history of War of 1812

Our war with England in 1812 was, as regards land battles, far the most disgraceful from a military standpoint of all our wars, though you will find in our texts a somewhat different story. Says General Leonard Wood of this war:

Land battles of 1812 generally disgraceful

"We had apparently learned very little from the lessons of the Revolution. The war, taken as a whole, was a series of disasters and reverses on land, many of them highly discreditable in character. Our record at sea was much better, and we gained many notable successes. . . . The gallant action at Lundy's Lane, where there was a strong nucleus of Regulars, and minor successes on the Thames formed the bulk of our creditable actions on land during the period of the war." (1, p. 130.)

The battle of New Orleans, though one of the most remarkable victories in our entire military history, General Wood does not here include, for the reason that it had no bearing upon the issue of the war, being fought two weeks after peace had been signed at Ghent.

Stampede of Americans at Bladensburg

It probably reflects our school teaching of history that until I passed through the village and heard mention of the battle of Bladensburg I did not know that such a battle was included in our history, though it was one of the most disastrous that America has ever suffered. A column of 1500 British troops after an exhaustive march from the Chesapeake toward the American capital here met five thousand fresh American troops of the Bryan variety, mostly militia hastily gathered to oppose them. The President and the Cabinet

officials had gone out from Washington to view the battle, but after a mere show of making a stand and having had but eight men killed and eleven wounded, almost the entire five thousand, including the President and Cabinet officials, joined in a general stampede and allowed the enemy to sack the national capital. There can have been few military engagements so disgraceful in the world's history, but the price paid would not have been so great had we learned its lesson (*2*, p. 14).

At Detroit 1800 Americans surrendered without a fight to 720 British and 600 Indians. At Plattsburg 13,000 Americans fell back before 2000 British. We had enrolled in this war more than 500,000 men to meet 67,000 sent against us, our enemies moreover fighting on foreign soil.

Battles of Detroit and Plattsburg

Both Admiral Mahan and Woodrow Wilson, the latter writing when a professor of history, have declared that America should in 1812 have entered the great struggle against autocracy which Great Britain was then waging in Europe. The British Orders in Council which irritated the American colonists, and which were as a matter of fact withdrawn before the war began, were no more obnoxious than Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, which forbade commerce with Great Britain on pain of confiscation of the vessels; but the colonists still retained the old rancor against England and gratitude toward France. Even the impressment of American seamen, which was the main cause of our entering the war, had some sort of justification. In order to maintain the great blockade fleet which was pressing upon the vitals of France, British seamen in great numbers were essential, and the slackers were fleeing to the colonies, where each American port did

America should have fought France, not England

a thriving business in false naturalization papers. There was naturally much resentment in England, and a strong temptation under these circumstances for a British captain to disregard all documents and seize men on American vessels whom he believed to be in reality British subjects.

It is worth recalling that the Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent made no mention of the impressment of seamen which had been the main cause of the war, though Britain herself voluntarily relinquished it, its incentive having disappeared with the fall of Napoleon.

The American Civil War

During the first year of the Civil War there were few battles in the sense in which that term is used abroad by military men, but only conflicts between armed mobs. Gradually an army and a competent body of officers were trained on both Northern and Southern sides.

The number of deserters from various causes throughout the war is one which almost surpasses belief. The official records of the War Department show that one year after the war began there was one Union soldier absent for about every five present, a year later one man was absent for about every three present, in the third year one was absent for every two and a half present, and in the last year one absent for less than two present. This is very surprising, since the number of desertions increased when the army was in other respects gaining greatly in efficiency (6).

The South early was driven to conscription; and when, later, the North had adopted the system, it was able with its much greater resources to overcome the South. The North sent two and a half million of soldiers against about a million from the South. When the war closed we had, North and South, an

army of seasoned troops which could, if combined, have met with success any army in Europe; and it was a recognition of this fact which promptly halted the menace to the Monroe Doctrine which had been raising its head in Mexico due to the machinations of Napoleon III. Not only this lesson that the possession of an effective military force may settle a dispute which must otherwise lead to bloodshed, is here enforced, but also the lesson that a nation is not militaristic merely because it possesses armed forces of great efficiency. The great army which, at the close of the war, passed in review at the National Capital, melted away imperceptibly into the homes of the country; which gives the lie to the statement that we put ourselves in jeopardy in a truly democratic country through providing the military forces necessary for our defense—and not for defense only in the narrower sense of the term, but in order to play our part in the world's struggles for freedom and the rights of man wherever they may be waged.

It is the opinion of a competent military historian that had the North possessed an army of 60,000 men, the Civil War would have been stopped at its very inception (7, p. 21), instead of costing us at the North alone, besides all the lives lost in the conflict, the stupendous sum of $5,371,079,778 and an additional $4,457,974,496 expended in pensions—nearly $10,000,000,000 in all (3, p. 150).

The official attitude of Britain and that of the British aristocrats was during the Civil War in sympathy with the South; and for permitting the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers to fit out in her ports in defiance of neutrality laws, Britain paid, when the so-called "*Alabama* claims"

The attitude of Great Britain

were adjusted, a penalty beyond all reason—a sum so large that millions of dollars still remain unclaimed in the United States Treasury.

It was altogether natural that the planter class in the South and the British landowners should be in sympathy, but, further, the blockade of the South by the Union navy cut off from England the cotton supply for her mills and thus brought poverty and actual starvation to thousands of the Lancashire spinners. It is to the eternal credit of the British working people that their love of liberty and their hatred of slavery triumphed over their hardships and suffering. Mr. Charles Francis Adams wrote in May, 1861: "The feeling toward the United States is improving in the higher circles here. It never was otherwise than friendly among the people at large." Charles Darwin wrote to Asa Gray: "I have not seen nor heard of a soul who is not with the North." There was later, after the Northern defeats, a serious doubt whether the North would ultimately conquer, and Darwin then wrote to Gray: "I hope to God that we English are utterly wrong in doubting whether the North can conquer the South."

The effect of the blockade of the South upon the cotton industry of Britain was terrible. Says Knapp:

> "I have no hesitation in saying that the Federal blockade of the South caused more distress in many districts of Britain than the Germans have been able to produce with all their submarines. It was distress that struck less deeply at the national life, to be sure, but it was bitter and terrible." (4.)

The desperate condition of the cotton spinners

When conditions were at the worst, Spurgeon stood up in his great tabernacle and prayed: "God bless the

North: give victory to her arms," and the vast congregation responded with a mighty "Amen."

On December 31, 1863, at a great mass meeting of the distressed workingmen of Manchester, a resolution of sympathy was passed and forwarded to President Lincoln, to which he replied:

Lincoln's letter to the Manchester workingmen

"Under the circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism, which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and final triumph of justice, humanity and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual." (8, p. 496.)

It is a pleasure to be able to record that private citizens in the North sent several shiploads of food to Liverpool for the relief of the starving workmen (9, p. 2).

It has recently been well said of national characteristics:

National characteristics

"We of America do not like England as well as we do France, and probably never will. She is not so likable a party. France is the most artistic of nations. England, like ourselves, still suffers from the art-destroying blight of Puritanism. The French have a marvelous gift for straight thinking, but they state

their conclusions diplomatically. The English are not even as straight thinkers as we are, but if they have anything unpleasant to say, they are the straightest talkers on earth. We are sensitive without being shy, and they are shy without being sensitive; we are obstreperous and they are crusty; we are eager to be admired and they take it for granted that everybody admires them. . . . But we trust them and wish them well, and they do the same by us; and the British Empire and the American Republic have more interests in common and more ties to bind them together than any two wholly separate states have had since the sun of liberty set on Ancient Greece." (4.)

Necessity of facing unpleasant facts

Many will say that I should not dwell upon the unpleasant facts in our history, and will urge rather that I recall those more agreeable incidents, the individual acts of heroism which make interesting reading and listening and draw the people's attention. It is more than probable that a publishing house anxious to introduce its history texts into the schools, would not choose to insert in its books such incidents as the disgraceful battle of Bladensburg. School committees when constituted as they have often been in the past in many of our large cities, from whence of course the publisher's profit is derived, would be inclined to reject such a text in favor of a less true but more creditable record. None the less we have our false teaching of history to blame that platform orators like Mr. Bryan have been able to declare to the accompaniment of thunderous applause that we in America can raise an army of a million men overnight for the purpose of repelling invasion, though sixteen months after the declaration of war on Germany our army in Europe had been fighting with borrowed artillery, borrowed machine

guns, borrowed rifles, borrowed aeroplanes, borrowed shells, etc., and in fact almost all of its equipment.

This series of lectures will have been delivered in vain if it has not been made clear that our nation cannot assimilate its immigrants of alien stock unless there is maintained for all the people alike the use of the language in which our Constitution and the Declaration of Independence have been written, and which has ever been the official language of the country. The foreign-language parochial school, which aims to maintain the use of the language and culture of a foreign state, has no proper place among our institutions, and it should be abolished without further delay. Despite all pretense it has been established and it exists to-day for the purpose of fostering foreignism within our borders (10).

Language instruction in the schools

As regards the teaching of German in the higher grades of our public schools, I believe that though plausible arguments might be set up for retaining such teaching, the consideration of the morale of the nation at this time is the crucial argument for its abolishment. It very likely will return, but not with its late greatly exaggerated importance in the curriculum. It will then assume its natural and proper value, and, most important of all, it will be taught by those who are one hundred per cent. Americans.

Autocratic governments go to much trouble to impart to their youth in the schools the high virtues which are assumed to inhere in emperors, kings, and princes, to the end that they may command the allegiance of their subjects; whereas we in America, who enjoy a heritage of liberty beyond all price, make not the slightest effort to transmit the knowledge of more than one, or at most two,

No patriotic instruction imparted

incidents of our long and glorious history. Even these are usually set forth in a manner to mislead, and so as to take away the power of gauging their true importance. Our youth are taught that they inherit their religious liberties from the Pilgrim fathers who were compelled to flee from England, and their political liberties from their Revolutionary ancestors who fought the tyrannical England. Their far greater heritage as Anglo-Saxons and as members of the English-speaking race is not so much as mentioned.

There are at least nine inalienable rights which have been purchased through the bitter struggles of men to whom the liberties acquired for those who came after counted far more than their own personal safety. These rights are: (1) the right of representative government; (2) the right of settling disputes in courts of law; (3) the right of trial by jury; (4) the right of *habeas corpus;* (5) the right of free speech; (6) the right of free schools; (7) the right of a free press; (8) the right of exemption from taxation except as imposed by act of one's own Parliament; (9) the right of freedom of worship.

The rights wrested from monarchs

Some of these rights of free men go back in their origin to our early Anglo-Saxon ancestors who lived in the heart of the German forests, and they have been for longer or shorter periods lost, and then recovered only at great cost. Others were won in Old England through the courageous acts of men whose names are inscribed upon the honor roll of the ages; and still others, and comparatively few, have been achieved for us Americans since our ancestors came to this country.

Powerful autocrats have appeared in all ages who would wrest from the people their dearly bought liberties; and it is that people only which knows the price

of its liberties that can be trusted to defend them against usurpation. All the liberties above enumerated are to-day the common heritage of the English-speaking race, and we have a right to point with pride to this undeniable fact. This is our English-speaking race patriotism.

English-speaking race patriotism

Notwithstanding our noble heritage, we have brought up our children to hatred of England, encouraged in this by the Irish and German elements in our population. Through clever selection of the reading exercises printed in the texts of secondary schools, and through a distortion of the facts in our histories, this seed has been sown and has borne bitter fruit. The influence of the beautiful love story of "Evangeline" in Longfellow's poem, which describes the deportation of a village of Acadian farmers quite without notice has played a not inconsiderable rôle in fanning this flame of hatred. Where should one look for description of the many incidents which have shown that blood is thicker than water and that England has proven herself the true friend both of America and of human liberty? Where is there recognition of the fact that our peace and prosperity for generations we owe to the support given the Monroe Doctrine, almost our only national policy, by the British Government, whose navy has been the mistress of the seas?

Hatred of England taught

The debt which we owe to England has been both justly and forcefully presented by an American lawyer, Mr. Lucius B. Swift, of the Indianapolis bar, in a little pamphlet entitled *America's Debt to England*, in which we read:

America's debt to England

"They [the rights of free men] did not come like summer breezes. Most of them came in storm and stress. The autocrat is always and everywhere. He did his best to

master the English-speaking race and failed. For many centuries Anglo-Saxon skies resounded with combat for liberty. . . .

"The German in Germany learned nothing of this. During all those centuries, liberty was dumb in Germany; the only sound was the sound of the glory of a ruler passing by. The German who lands upon the shores of America to-day finds here that liberty the germ of which his ancestors in the German forests had and lost, and which the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes carried into England and handed down to us. The German ought to cry out: 'At last I am home again! I here enjoy the full growth of that liberty which was lost in Germany but which the English-speaking race with its strong arm has preserved for all the modern world!' No other race had such a record. Other races have their own reasons for pride, but this record is the peculiar and the crowning glory of the English-speaking race." (11, p. 13.)

The people against the king

Since then Lexington and Concord, important as they are in marking milestones on the road of progress, do not fix the starting point of our liberties, we need to study the early and greater battles in the history of the rights of man. Everyone should know that representative government comes to us across a stretch of fifteen hundred years from the German forests, where it flourished in the hundred-moot, the shire-moot, and the folk-moot, corresponding to the increasingly large assemblies of the people. From there it was carried to England, to be lost under the Norman Conqueror but recovered in the Council of the Norman kings; so that the English people developed the English Parliament, upon which the American Congress, with important modifications, was eventually modeled. The fight to maintain parliamentary government in England against reac-

tionary kings who would rule in defiance of it was a long and stormy one, but against Charles I. the people rallied under a Cromwell and Charles was sent to the block. Long before this, however, the English people had demanded of their king a written record of the rights which they had already held for centuries and which they had ever guarded against invasion by kings.

When the *Magna Charta* was presented to King John at Runnymede, he declared: "I will never grant such liberties as will make me a slave," and it was only when the people rose in their might that he signed. Like other autocrats he then regarded the document he had signed as a scrap of paper. He therefore brought in foreign troops in order that he might have his will, and for eighty years the struggle for democracy against autocracy went on in England until at last Edward I. surrendered to the people. This right of the people, and not the king, to rule, our forefathers brought with them to America, and every immigrant arriving at our shores comes into full enjoyment of this priceless privilege.

Magna Charta

Before the revolution in France it had been the custom through making use of so-called *lettres de cachet* to throw into prison persons whom the king or his powerful courtiers did not like. Men innocent of any wrongdoing languished in the Bastille, unless or until, perchance, some powerful friend took an interest in their fortunes. A similar practice obtained in England in early times, and even to-day in Germany there is so-called "preventive arrest" which accomplishes the same purpose. To-day in English-speaking countries no man can be lawfully detained in prison save on the judgment of his peers; but how few of us have been taught how this right

The right of habeas corpus

of *habeas corpus* was obtained, and how after the right of citizens to imprison a man at their will had been taken away, another fight had to be waged before the king was forced to obey the same law as his subjects? It was a struggle lasting 464 years from the signing of *Magna Charta* to 1679, when the right was at last wrung from kings that not even their orders could stand against a writ of *habeas corpus*. When the American Constitution incorporated the right of *habeas corpus*, it was thought not to need definition, but to-day it carries little meaning to our American youth unless they have been taught its significance either in the schools or at home.

Taxation without representation

The reason our Revolutionary forefathers raised such a storm of protest against the Stamp Act and were even willing to go to war rather than be taxed without representation, was because their English fathers and grandfathers had throughout centuries carried out the same fight in the old country in order to make sure that they should never be taxed save through laws which they or their representatives had had a part in making; and this fight, carried over to American soil, was finally settled at Yorktown. It was because a German King and his reactionary minister, Lord North, oppressed the colonies, that the Revolutionary War was fought against the will of the majority of the British people, and the victory of Yorktown is to be ascribed quite as much to the triumph of the anti-Tory party in Britain in that year as to purely military considerations. Said Washington: "American Freedom is at stake; it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke and maintain the liberty *which we have derived from our ancestors.*"

Says George L. Knapp of the American colonists:

"Partly because they were drawn from the most radical part of the British population, partly because of the opportunities afforded by their New World environment, they had gone farther than their brethren of the old home, but they were marching on the same road. . . . 'British rights shall ne'er be lost,' ran a line of the song which celebrated the Boston Tea Party; and British rights the colonists were battling for when they started the fight which took them out of the British Empire." (4, p. 1.)

Courts of law and trial by jury

The settlement of disputes in courts of law, the trial of a man for his life by a jury of twelve men, and the whole structure of the common law built up to protect the lives and property of citizens against aggression, is our inheritance from England. We need to enforce these truths by frequent repetition until the value of this heritage of liberty of the English-speaking race is fully realized.

The right of free speech

The right of free speech, or criticism of rulers who defy either the law or the expressed will of the people, is one that has been dearly bought, and many brave spirits have well-nigh suffered martyrdom to secure it. John Hampden languished in prison for his bold defiance of tyranny, even though he was a man of abundant means. When King Henry unlawfully demanded contributions of money, fixing the amount each man should pay, Alderman Reed defied the King and as a punishment was put in the army on perilous duty. When Charles levied special taxes unlawfully, Richard Chambers, refusing to pay, was called before the King in counsel, where he roundly scored the monarch for being more oppressive even than the Turks. He was heavily fined and sent to prison (11).

Even in modern times there has sometimes grown up the idea, carefully fostered by rulers, that no criticism of the men in control of the government should be permitted, even though they act contrary to the will of the people; and in war times autocrats have taken advantage of the special powers conferred upon them to brand such criticism as disloyalty, however much it may have been called forth by mismanagement or by defiance of constitutional checks. We have, fortunately, the example of Abraham Lincoln who, during our war with Mexico, did not hesitate from his seat in Congress to castigate President Polk for unwarranted acts committed in the conduct of that war. In a speech delivered by Lincoln, January 12, 1848, he said of a part of President Polk's message that it "is from beginning to end the sheerest deception." He then asks the President to answer certain questions and continues: "Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with facts and not with arguments. Let him remember that he sits where Washington sat, and so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. Let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation." One of the best generals, he goes on to say, "for insisting upon speaking unpalatable truths" has "been driven into disfavor if not disgrace by the President" and he ends by saying that the army has done well but that the President has blundered his work (12).

Lincoln and free speech

In an autocratic country like Germany, though education is extended to the people as a whole, it is education of a rather rudimentary character focused upon obedience to authority and not leading to the higher callings, to the professions, or to commissions in the army. In the *Volkschule*,

Free schools

which alone is open to the common people, the use of German, arithmetic, religion, and some geography and history are taught for eight years; after which course of study the German boy enters some trade.

The boy of an aristocratic family, on the other hand, goes to the aristocratic school—the *Realgymnasium*—where there is a tuition to be paid, where foreign languages, higher mathematics, and science are taught, and where the plan of the curriculum is so organized as to lead to the University. The graduates of the *Gymnasium* go into the professions, into the legions of positions of the bureaucratic government service, or else receive commissions in the army. Eight per cent. only of the population receive this higher education of the ruling class, and the other ninety-two per cent. the education of the *Volkschule* which leads to nothing above the social rank of the boy's father. In English-speaking countries this barrier between classes is removed, most of all in America and in the self-governing colonies of Great Britain, where the pioneer life of the new country broke down the last barriers between classes (13).

"I am the state"

One and all, the rights of free men to-day, be they of electing their rulers, of being tried by their peers, of *habeas corpus*, free speech, free schools, or free press; they all have this in common that they have been wrung from rulers who wished to impose their personal rule upon the people. "*L'état, c'est moi*"—I am the state—said Louis XIV., and at all times since the people's liberties have been won at such cost, there have arisen men in high office who have by devious means tried to win back for themselves a personal in place of a popular rule; for the people, though familiar with their rights when they are cor-

rectly labeled, have sometimes been slow to detect encroachments which have been made under disguises. Had we but trained our youth by placing before their vision the terrible conditions which resulted from personal rule in France and England in former days, they would grow up jealous to guard their rights as free men against every encroachment. We should then see clearly, as some of us I fear do not, the sinister portent in America to-day, the danger that we shall emerge from this war shorn of our liberties as a people, with a personal rule established in place of our popular one; a danger that is now keenly felt by many far-seeing Americans.

The President versus the country

In my home city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and elsewhere I have seen large and expensively printed posters exhibiting an excellent portrait of President Wilson against the background of an American flag, printed in color, and below in letters that stood out strongly, "STAND BY THE PRESIDENT." This poster had been printed in Ohio in defiance of the law of that State which forbids the printing of any face or design upon the national emblem, and was being exhibited in the State of Michigan where it is contrary to the flag law even to exhibit such a design. I subsequently journeyed to Pittsburgh, and being compelled to stop over in Mr. Baker's home city of Cleveland, I saw in a shop window a heavy and expensive window poster with the President's portrait printed upon it, with the words, "OUR PRESIDENT, RIGHT OR WRONG, HE'S RIGHT." This vicious motto was so clearly an attempt to substitute "President" for "Country" in the well-known saying credited to Commodore Decatur: "My country, right or wrong, but right or wrong, my country," that it came to me

as a distinct shock. Arriving at Pittsburgh I saw in a large shoe-shining establishment kept by Greeks, another fine picture of Mr. Wilson printed against a patriotic but rather lurid background of eagle, flags, etc., and with relatively small pictures of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln flanking it on either side. In large letters which were wound about Mr. Wilson's portrait, was the motto: "AMERICA, WE LOVE THEE." The idea conveyed here is as clearly that the country is now Mr. Wilson as it was in the two other posters, or in the saying of Louis XIV., "I am the state."

The idea of personal, as opposed to popular, government has now been so sedulously conveyed in other ways that to oppose the President, even when he is clearly in the wrong and when his error may mean our undoing as a nation, is to incur his hostility and become subject to his charge of "disloyalty."

Misuse of the "disloyalty" label

A representative in Congress whom from years of personal acquaintance I know to be one of the most patriotic and loyal of American citizens and who has been endorsed by the National Security League, for opposing some of Mr. Wilson's views was charged openly with disloyalty by the President, who advocated the election of J. E. Davies, the President's personal friend opposing Mr. Lenroot in his campaign for United States Senator from Wisconsin. To bring about Mr. Lenroot's defeat the Vice-President of the United States campaigned Wisconsin charging him with disloyalty. Public advertisements addressed by the Democratic leaders to the soldiers at Camp Grant were worded as follows:

"To the Wisconsin soldiers at Camp Grant: Tuesday, April 2, you are entitled to vote for United States Senator

from Wisconsin to succeed Paul O. Husting. President Wilson, your Commander-in-Chief, desires all loyal Americans to vote for Joseph E. Davies for United States Senator. Davies's election means joy at Washington and gloom at Berlin. Davies's defeat means gloom at Washington and joy at Berlin." (14.)

When this advertisement was publicly called to the attention of the Secretary to the President, it was entirely ignored in a long letter which was sent in reply.

Call to service of pacifists

For supporting the President in his campaign, Henry Ford, pacifist and enemy's dupe, defender of the *Lusitania* outrage, a man of wealth who spent millions to defeat preparedness of the nation and large sums of money to reelect Mr. Wilson to the office of President upon the ground that he had kept the country out of the war—Henry Ford is personally endorsed by the Administration and requested to become a candidate for United States Senator. Colonel House, whose pacifism is clearly outlined in his inspired biography recently published (15), is ordered to prepare data for the Peace Conference and will as a consequence almost automatically become the American delegate to that Conference.

The bureau of public information

On January 14, 1917, before we entered the war, the Administration founded a Bureau of Public Information and placed it in charge of George Creel, who has stated publicly his pride that the United States made no preparations for this war while the conflict raged for two and a half years before we were forced into it. Under his control false and misleading information has been repeatedly given out to the public concerning the conduct of the war, information highly colored from a political viewpoint; and this source of misinformation has been supple-

mented by many official statements of the Secretary of War. Mr. Creel's distortion of the news has been repeatedly denounced upon the floors of Congress and in the public press, but the opposition to renewing his appropriations unless he was made responsible to Congress was suppressed by the Administration and he continues to report directly to the President.

Suppression of important news

Referring to the punishment which the government has meted out to those few newspapers which published the full report of the sub-committee of the Military Affairs Committee of the United States Senate which investigated the aviation scandal, to the submission to censorship of the Associated Press and the other news agencies, and to the fear of small newspapers to give out any independent report from fear of coercion, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has stated:

"In the light of these various facts it appears that the United States has already reached that period of darkness which was feared by many of us who predicted on the floor of the Senate would arise if extra-constitutional powers were granted to the Government. If it is possible to prevent the full text and meaning of such a report as that of the Senate sub-committee on Aviation from reaching all classes of American voters, then how are our people, for it is emphatically their war, to be sure that any of the information being served to them is reliable?"

Enormous expansion of government patronage

At our next national election in the fall of 1920, the patronage evil will be enormously expanded. Heretofore largely restricted to the army of post-office employees, whose vote can be influenced to favor the party in power, this patronage evil will then apply also to the railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephones, a vastly

enlarged army and navy, and to the great body of labor generally. As if to forecast the character of this menace, there has gone out from the Democratic National Headquarters a letter signed by its Financial Chairman, F. A. McNamee, in which the people are enjoined to elect as senators and representatives to Congress men "who are one hundred per cent. American, *in accordance with the aims of the Administration*" (14).

Republicans excluded from the direction of war activities

Had we but a coalition-cabinet for counsel in direction of the war, as has every other allied nation, our danger would be far less serious, but none save faithful Administration Democrats have been allowed in positions of authority and direction until the rule was recently broken in the case of Mr. Charles M. Schwab, the new head of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Men of great force and ability of the opposite party, such as ex-Presidents Taft and Roosevelt and General Leonard Wood, have in various ways been prevented from taking any large part in the war, and General Wood particularly has been relentlessly persecuted by the Administration.

Persecution of General Wood

The obvious will of the people has been openly defied in demoting the most distinguished soldier and the highest ranking officer of the United States Army, and the most distinguished Admiral of the navy has been retired from power; both of them having dared to be earnest advocates of preparedness at a time when the Administration was telling the country that it was already adequately prepared. The people's protest against the repeated acts taken to humiliate General Wood has been voiced in no uncertain tones by ex-President Taft, and even the

President's semi-official organ, the New York *World*, has condemned this exhibition of petty spite. Said Mr. Taft:

"When we entered the war in April, 1917, the public supposed that General Wood would be consulted and given an important place in the organization of the army. Instead he was relieved from duty at Governor's Island and sent to Charleston. It is now known that this was personally directed by the Commander-in-Chief, probably for the purpose of indicating displeasure at General Wood's criticism of the policy of non-preparation." (16.)

Referring to the order which was sent to General Wood upon the eve of his sailing for Europe, an order which relieved him from his command without any explanation, President Taft says: "The country is seriously disappointed that General Wood has not been permitted to go abroad with the division which he has been training" (17).

Advancement of the President's personal physician

When the rule of seniority in determining promotions in the navy had been replaced by one based upon fitness, the fear was expressed that this would leave the service open to personal favoritism by those in authority. The first act of the President under the new ruling was to advance his personal physician, who was admittedly without special qualification for promotion, to the rank and pay of a rear-admiral in the United States Navy. So outrageous was this act that the Senate at first flatly refused to confirm the appointment, though it was later compelled to do so under pressure from the Administration.

The great syndicate of the Hearst newspapers, which has adopted the policy of aiding our enemies and

stirring up hatred of England, has been protected, and government speakers on the war have been kept from publicly attacking this dangerous organization. On behalf of the syndicate the government made intercession with Great Britain to remove the ban which had been placed upon the Hearst news by the British cable service (17).

The press danger

Congress has been effectually prevented from exercising its will in opposition to the President, however much in the right it may be, through a combination of methods of which the Administration label of "disloyal" is by far the most effective. In many States the President has intervened to denounce or to endorse candidates for Congress or the United States Senate, according as they have opposed or have favored his policies (18).

The "disloyalty" label

These are some, but they are by no means all of the indications that an autocrat has already assumed personal government through taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the war to seize all the reins of power.

In delivering a course of lectures on patriotism in this great crisis, I should be false to my trust if I did not warn you, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, of this glaring menace to our liberties. My action is far removed from party politics. I would draw your attention to the fact that though Mr. Wilson has asked that politics be adjourned for the period of the war, the opposing political party, though not allowed to participate actively in the conduct of the war, is supporting the President loyally, and that the opposition to him has largely come from the more independent element in his own political party. Colonel Henry Watterson, veteran Democrat and

late editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, in a recent editorial said:

"That war involves autocracy I understand well enough, but in the field, not in the White House; over the international situation, not over our domestic affairs. The President, though Commander-in-Chief of the Army, is still the servant of the people, and should hold himself to the Constitution, and be held to it, not above it. Elsewise we have a Diaz." (19.)

It is, I believe, my duty to urge you to be watchful of a man who would make government personal, who would, with much beautiful speech concerning keeping the world safe for democracy, force us into an autocracy while our attention is temporarily distracted by the immediate menace of a world autocrat in Europe. If this warning seem to any of you to be treason, I can only say, "Make the most of it."

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AFTERWORD

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1919

THE attempt to deal with the history of any period of storm and stress while it is in progress, comes under the handicap of the hurried march of events, and never so much as now in the greatest crisis of history.

The lectures reproduced in the foregoing pages, with the exception of XII., were written and delivered in the months of July and August, 1918. As they have gone into type during the closing months of the year, in a few instances the tense of verbs has been changed from the future to the past where events referred to have passed into history. In addition, the lists of references have been extended by the admission of new material, but, in the main,—and this is true especially of the later lectures,—they have been left in the form in which they were delivered, even though much might have been added in the way of amplification. It is a satisfaction to be able to say that in little would their character have been changed by the inclusion of events which have transpired during the succeeding four and one half momentous months.

The menace of internationalism in its Russian form of Bolshevism, which was developed in lecture XVIII., has been shown to be perhaps as great even as was Prussianism, which, now defeated in the field, we

devoutly hope is to be given the *coup de grâce* at the peace council.

Mr. Wilson's delay in joining with the allied nations to intervene against Russian Bolshevism, and his evident desire to foist state socialism upon the United States through retaining control of certain great public utilities while upon various pretexts he is seizing others—these and other acts have caused him to be acclaimed in France as the leader of socialist elements, which doubtless hope to exploit his influence to their advantage in opposition to the French Government.

The autocratic claims against which in August last I made protest have since assumed more offensive forms, notably in the President's request that in the elections to the Reconstruction Congress the people should vote for those senators and representatives that have supported without questioning the Wilson Administration, whatever may have been their attitude upon vital war issues. This request of the President was made a paramount issue at the polls and received the rebuke which it merited in the defeat of most of those candidates for reëlection whom the President had specifically named as falling within this category, as it did by the defeat of the ultra-pacifist, Henry Ford, for whose election to the United States Senate the Administration and an important department of the government had labored assiduously.

The harmony so essential to success in the deliberations of the peace council has been threatened by Mr. Wilson's evident desire to dominate and to insist that his formula of "fourteen points," deftly flung out a full year ago, shall have the authority almost of Holy Writ. His utterances, official and unofficial, and the emanations from the official press bureau, have conveyed

the impression that the responsible representatives of the allied governments and the American people—nay, even the land and sea forces of the United States, who are forbidden to express an opinion—approve these principles. While steadfastly refusing to further enlighten the American Congress concerning the nature of these principles, and appointing himself the head of the nation's peace delegation, in defiance of traditions and of the protest which has been voiced, Mr. Wilson has journeyed to Europe in great state, where he has courted and has received the deference and the attentions usually paid to crowned potentates.

France and England have each in turn given to their formal receptions of the head of the American Republic a degree of distinction and a wholeheartedness of expression which must be a source of satisfaction to every patriotic American,—an expression which is an evidence that the drawing together of the democratic nations in this supreme crisis has rested upon a sure foundation.

Heretofore, the allied governments have said little regarding their peace terms, leaving to Mr. Wilson a monopoly of the field; but as I write on this opening day of the New Year, the festivities and the shoutings are approaching an end, and for the first time the substance of the allied peace terms begins to emerge.

Returned to power in the first general elections since before the war, and by the overwhelming majority of no less than two hundred seats in Parliament, with pacifists and socialists swept into retirement, Premier Lloyd George now speaks as never before with the firm backing of an undivided British nation. The German doctrine of freedom of the seas, exploited by Mr. Wilson as one of his fourteen points, was made a

distinct issue in these elections, and now that its repudiation has been determined upon, may be considered as effectually disposed of. On an earlier occasion, Lloyd George has made clear that his idea of a league of nations is the one already in existence.

In the French Chamber Premier Clemenceau has outlined some of the French peace aims, and in no uncertain terms has declared against freedom of the seas, and against the universal league of nations espoused by Mr. Wilson, but in favor of that league of democratic nations which the war has brought into being—a league which he has described by the old term of balance of power.

Against noisy opposition the "old tiger" stood up on the tribune and declared:

"People say, 'Premier Lloyd George has spoken, President Wilson has spoken, but you have said nothing.' I have given explanations whenever you have asked me. But it isn't because Mr. Lloyd George has spoken, or because Mr. Wilson has arrived from America with elevated thoughts that I am obliged to explain myself and keep running to the rostrum.

"France has an especially difficult situation. It was the country nearest Germany. America was far away and took her time to come into the war. England came at once at the call of Mr. Asquith. We suffered and fought, our men were mowed down and our towns and villages were destroyed.

"There is an old system of alliances called the 'balance of power.' It seems to be condemned nowadays, but if such a balance had preceded the war; if England, the United States, France, and Italy had agreed, say, that whoever attacked one of them, attacked the whole world, the war would not have occurred. This system of alliances,

which I do not renounce, will be my guiding thought at the Peace Conference, if your confidence sends me there."

The vote of confidence which followed developed an altogether overwhelming majority, and so the socialists' attempt to form a cleavage in favor of Mr. Wilson's program proved to be a noisy but futile fiasco. At the first opportunity, in a speech made at Manchester, Mr. Wilson flung back the retort—did he speak by "divine right" as when before the joint houses of Congress he declared that Peace without Victory was American principle and American policy?—"the United States . . . will join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us."

But here upon the *impasse* which had arrived the news camouflage closed in remorselessly. An article in the "Thunderer" implied soothingly that Mr. Wilson's idea of the League of Nations—one to include Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, China, etc.—and that of Clemenceau were really the same; and the news columns began to fill with accounts of the preparations for the next lap of the President's triumphal march, this time into Italy. Secretary Daniels now issues the absurd statement that unless we form a universal league of nations as urged by Mr. Wilson, we must resign ourselves to the prospect of having "incomparably the biggest navy in the world"; a threat which one of Mr. Wilson's staff writers had already given out was "the pistol in his hip pocket" which was to bring Europe to terms.

Germany, eagerly listening for dissensions within the allied council and hoping for the entry of a wedge between the victorious Powers, hears the noisy outburst of the socialists in the French Chamber, but can derive

little comfort from the result of the vote of confidence or from the British general elections, which have given the Government the most solid backing which British history records.

On the heels of these reports from England and France comes one from Italy that the socialist elements have been signally defeated in the Italian Chamber, and that the Orlando-Sonnino ministry, working in harmony with France and England, has come out of the parliamentary crisis with flying colors.

Thus not only freedom of the seas and the universal league of nations seem sure to be turned down at the Peace Conference, but those reparations from Germany which were so conspicuously lacking in the fourteen points are now certain to be exacted. Another obnoxious "point," the demand that no economic barriers shall be erected against Germany, is also likely to be defeated. As long ago as June, 1916, the allied nations reached unanimous agreement upon this question, which they will insist upon in order to insure that the ravaged territory shall be reclaimed and their own peoples rehabilitated.

But if the fourteen points are meeting with little favor in the allied conference, they have been enthusiastically espoused in Germany by such notable pan-German leaders as Count von Bernstorff and Dr. Mathias Erzberger, and by the German press generally. A memorandum signed by no less than 846 German professors—nearly four times the number that signed the notorious declaration "to the civilized world," is urging haste in concluding peace upon the ground that the new American Congress will come into power after March 4th and "likely will be dominated by Republican Imperialists who will oppose Mr. Wilson's fourteen points."

In short, the prospect of the opening year is that those nations which have fought the war through at such untold sacrifices, will, without domination by pacifist or socialist influences, succeed in concluding a peace which will force the world villain among the nations to expiate his crimes, will permit the rehabilitation of the ravaged countries at the expense of the criminal rather than of his victims, and will be able to safeguard the future by the imposition of suitable guarantees.

A clever attempt has been made to discredit the Allies by showing that they are actuated in the peace programs by selfishness and greed, and that America alone is moved by altruistic motives. This propaganda has originated in the same quarters as did the notion that the diplomacy of the Allies was responsible for the war; and it is certain to meet the same contempt on the part of all those who are correctly informed and who are not swayed by race prejudice. While the future is not yet assured, and though it is still possible that much that has been gained in the war may yet be lost at the peace table, the New Year of 1919 has lifted the curtain before a distinctly encouraging outlook for the world.

INDEX

A

Ackermann, Carl W., cited, 138
Acquired territory, German plans to exterminate alien cultures in, 322
Adams, Charles Francis, cited on British feeling toward America, 396; cited, 314
Addams, Jane, an ardent pacifist, 265
Agadir, crisis of, 18; incident, 51
Alabama claims, 395
Albert, King of Belgium, his appeal to King George, 41; receives confidence concerning German plot, 70
Algeciras Conference, 18
Alldeutscher Verband, see Pan-German Union
Alsace-Lorraine, wrested from France, 9; future not foreseen, 118; should be restored to France, 96; protest of deputies from, on leaving French Chamber, 331, 352; German propaganda concerning, 342; necessity of restoring to France, 342; culture of, 346; under the Holy Roman Empire, 346; French rule in, 348; during French Revolution, 348; the Strasbourg address, 349; in Franco-Prussian War, 350; declaration of the deputies from, in 1871, 351; valedictory of the deputies from, in 1871, 352; the *emigrés* from, 353; in world war, 353; government of by Germany, 354; election of "protestors" by, 354; German propaganda concerning, 356; a union of provinces with differences of speech, 381
Altschul, Charles, cited, 128
America, tardy awakening of, 91
American Bar Association Journal cited, 288
American Civil War, cost of, 395
American Defense Society, work of, 222; requests the President to publish reports on defense, 223
"American Embargo Conference," 207
"American Independence Union," organized to prevent shipment of munitions, 205
American Journal of International Law cited, 248, 250
American religious leaders against a false peace, 287
American Rights League, work of, 222; cited, 249, 288
American Truth Society, an Irish organization, 207
American wife of titled German, cited, 110, 127; cited on insults of soldiers, 112; cited on the place of German women, 113; cited on German prohibitions, 120
Americanization, pioneer work in, 195
Anderson, William, cited, 19
Andler, Ch., cited, 84, 184
Angell, Norman, apostle of pacifism, his baneful influence, 158
Anglo-Saxon stock largely exterminated in Germany, 114
Archer, William, cited on German attitude toward Belgium, 40; cited, 20, 24, 46, 85
Army, German, undemocratic, 108; exalted social position of its officers, 112; tyranny of drill sergeants, 125

Army, United States, General Staff's report published, 228, 229; delay in participating in the war, 241
Arndt, Professor Paul, cited, 14
Arnim, Countess von, *see* Russell, Mary Annette
Asia Minor will probably remain Turkish, 337
Atrocities, German, under system, 163; under pretext of reprisals, 167; in relation to success of campaigns, 168; ordered by High Command, 168, 174; evidence from soldiers' diaries, 170; summary of, for Belgium, 172; threat of, given to Belgium, 174; system in, shown by times and places, 174, 175; in Belgium, three stages of, 176; uniformity of system, 179; special devices of destruction, 180; against women and children, reason for, 181; effect on the children, 181; in Armenia, 181; types of, 183; in Belgium, dates of, 216
Australia, peaceful penetration in, 141
Austria, secret investigation of assassins, 23; ultimatum to Serbia, 23; declares war on Serbia, 29; consents to discuss matters with Russia, 30; ultimatum to Serbia, advance knowledge of, in Berlin, 68
Autocracy in government, 408

B

Baeyer, Professor Adolph von, cited, 124
Bagdad Railway, state of completion of, 361
Baker, Newton D., Secretary of War, opposes attacks on Hearst, 140; pacifist, made Secretary of War, 230; fails to keep promise concerning troops sent to France 245; announced "miracle" of transport as American achievement, 246; disseminates misleading information, 411; cited, 251
Balance of power of democratic nations, advantages of, 380
Balkans must not be absorbed by Germany, 337
Ballou, Sidney, cited, 251
Balzac, Honoré de, cited on German conception of liberty, 356
Banca Commerciale Italiana, its part in peaceful penetration, 134; methods of, 135; its use of spies, 146; its control of Giolitti, 159, 160
Bang, J. B., cited, 85
Barber, Major H. A., cited on German plans, 55
Barbusse, Henri, defeatist book by, 269; edits internationalist newspaper, 269; cited, 271
Barry, Richard, cited, 417
Bashford, J. L., cited, 366
Bastille Day, an American holiday, 87
Bates, Mrs. Lindon W., cited, 248
Battle of Bladensburg, a stain in our military record, 392
Battle song, German, 163
Beaufort, J. M., cited, 128
Beck, James M., cited on unconstitutional rule of Mr. Wilson, 231; his comments on Peace without Victory note, 281; on phrases of Mr. Wilson, 285; proposed to cancel loans to Allies, 341; cited, 24, 46, 249, 250, 288, 366
Becker, Carl L., cited, 366
Becker Steel Company of West Virginia, a German institution, 141
Bédier, Joseph, cited on German atrocities, 170; cited, 183
Beer, George Louis, cited on common characteristics of English-speaking peoples, 367; cited, 249, 250, 384
Beethoven's sonata, "Universal Edition" of, 116
Belgium, reply to German ultimatum, 39; neutrality guaranteed, 40; government not moved by German threat of atrocities, 174; period of spoliation of, 176; invasion of, American attitude toward, 215; neutrality of, traditional British policy to defend, 300; its spoliation by Germany a preparation

Belgium—*Continued*
for next war, 320; its despoliation inspired by plan of future economic control, 321; Germany's plans of future annexation, 321
Below, Herr von, German Ambassador to Belgium, cited, 39, 40
Benedict XV., His Holiness, his peace overture, 278; receives peace note from Central Powers, 279; issues peace program for the Central Powers, 286
Bennett, Arnold, his pacifist propaganda, 334; cited, 363
Bennett, James O'Donnell, Germanized press correspondent, 137
Bennett Law in Wisconsin, 196
Benson, E. F., cited, 148
Bentwich, Norman, cited, 314
Berchtold, Count, Austrian Foreign Minister, cited, 46
Bernardiston, Colonel, conversation with General Ducarne, 43
Bernhardi, General F. von, cited on relations with England, 45; his campaign to prepare German people for the war, 58; revealed Germany's plans in his writings, 256; cited, 19, 22, 46, 82, 83
Bernstein, Hermann, cited on secret correspondence, 55; cited, 82
Bernstorff, Count Johann von, comparison with Count Forgach, 26; German Ambassador at Washington, interview after Potsdam War Council of July 5, 1914, 77; his bribing of newspaper men, 138; starts first peace balloon, 225; relations with Oswald Garrison Villard, 264; makes speeches for "freedom of the seas," 307, 308
Bethmann-Hollweg, Herr von, German Chancellor, his confession in *Reichstag*, 42; his "scrap of paper" declaration, 44; his policy as Chancellor, 45; his complicity in German plot, 66; his attitude on Zabern affair, 106
Bevan, Edwyn, cited, 128
Biddle, General John, cited, 385
Bigelow, Poultney, cited on William II., 16; cited on caste system in Germany, 111; his *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, 124; cited, 19, 127, 363
Bismarck-Schoenhausen, Prince Otto von, wields power through King William of Prussia, 4; against democracy, 5; struggle with King William at Nikolsburg, 6; falsification of Ems telegram, 7; imposed punitive war indemnity on France, 9; tries to provoke France to war in 1875, 10; policies approved by German people, 10; policy after 1871, 11; fails to foresee future of Alsace-Lorraine, 11; dismissed by Kaiser, 16; gave Germany a camouflage of free government, 99; German constitution written under his direction, 100; governs Prussia without constitution, 103; removes democratic phases of constitution, 107; celebration of birthday of, at Ann Arbor, Mich., 154; cited on anticipating Providence, 161; reveals mainsprings of German policy, 255; demands of France Alsace-Lorraine, 351; his brutal repression of Alsace-Lorraine, 354; cited, 19, 50
Bissing, Governor-General von, reprimanded for leniency, 177; cited on plan of German deportations, 177; cited on Belgium with reference to a future war, 317, 318; significance of his program for Belgium, 320
Blumenthal, Daniel, cited, 364
Bohn, Frank, cited, 128
Bolshevism, its spread from Russia, 270; its menace, 418; aided by Mr. Wilson's delay to join with Allies in intervening in Russia, 419
Bosnia placed under tutelage of Austria in 1878, 17
Botany Worsted Mills, of Passaic, N. J., a German institution, 143

Boy-Ed, Captain, German Attaché at Washington, manager of German conspiracies, 202
Breck, Edward, cited, 416
Briey-Longwy, iron basin, 12; iron district, seized by Germany before declaring war, 82
Britain, attitude toward American colonies, 93
British Foreign Office cited, 84, 186
British Palestine Committee cited, 365
Bryan, William Jennings, as Germany's tool, 157; pacifist barnstormer, 261; cited on international police, 379; cited, 271
Bryce, Viscount James, cited, 184, 185, 385
Buelow, Prince von, Germany's envoy to keep Italy neutral, 160; cited, 19
Bulgaria, secret treaty with Germany, 73
Bundesrat, character of, 100; real seat of legislation, 101; really controlled by Kaiser, 105
Bunsen, Sir Maurice de, British Ambassador at Vienna, cited, 26
Bureaucracy, German, 107
Burgess, Prof. John W., makes un-American statements, 257; cited, 271
Burgfrieden, in Germany, 81; state of siege, declared in Germany, 106

C

Cabot, Richard, cited, 249
Caillaux, French politician, as Germany's tool, 157, 158; on trial for high treason, 159
Cambon, M. Jean, French Ambassador at London, reports on support of Britain in war, 298, 299, 300
Cambon, M. Jules, French Ambassador at Berlin, cited, 33; reports secret German mobilization, 79
Cammaerts, Émile, cited, 184
Canby, H. S., cited, 385
Canfield, George F., cited, 249
"Cannon fodder," its conservation in Germany, 113; *see* Manpower, German
Caprivi, Count von, Imperial German Chancellor, cited on German influence in Alsace, 356
Cartel, its use in peaceful penetration, 136, 142; aids German shipping in competition with Britain, 291
Casablanca, crisis of, in 1911, 15
Cass, General Lewis, resigns from Buchanan's Cabinet because of Buchanan's pusillanimity, 237
Causes of the war, ultimate *vs.* proximate, 1
Chadbourne, Philip Hemenway, cited, 128
Chamberlain, Houston Stuart, cited as exponent of *Kultur*, 118
Chamberlin, T. C., cited, 385
Chancellor, German, direct representative of the Kaiser, 106
Chapman, John Jay, cited, 85
Charlemagne, dreamer of world empire, 4
Chéradame, André, cited on pacifism, 48; cited on France's future in relation to the peace, 331; cited, 83, 249, 272, 288, 364, 366
Cheyney, Prof. Edward P., tries to defeat compulsory military training, 257
Chichester, British Admiral, supports Dewey at Manila, 54, 191
Chinese boycott of American goods a German trick, 146
Cholmondeley, Alice (pen-name), cited, 128
Church, Samuel Harden, cited, 248, 249
Church schools, German, in United States promote disloyalty, 200
Churchill, Winston, First Lord of the British Admiralty, acts to guard Entente, 297, 298; cited, 385
Clark, Victor S., cited, 128
Claudel, Paul, cited on European trade route on 45th parallel, 362
Clemenceau, Georges, arouses France to put down defeatism, 158; view of his organ on admitting Germany to League of

Clemenceau—*Continued*
Nations, 383; declares himself against Freedom of the Seas and Universal League of Nations, 422
Coal, in relation to German development, 11; German supplies of, necessary to rehabilitation of France, 96; German production of, 131; poverty of France in, 343; German, possible disposition of, 343
Coar, John F., cited on German conspiracies, 194; cited, 211
Cobb, Irvin S., cited on German system in atrocities, 175; cited, 183
Committee on Public Information cited, 252
Concert of Powers, effect of, 380
Conference Committee on National Preparedness, 222, 249
Congressional Record cited, 247, 248, 249
Conscription during American Civil War, 394
Conspiracies, German, *see* German conspiracies
Constantine, King of Greece, as Heidelberg Corps student, 156
"Continuous Voyage," principle of, 217
Conversation, on Belgian defense, falsification of, by Germany, 43
Cook, Sir Edward, cited, 20
Cook, Sir Theodore A., cited, 184
Corbett, Sir Julian, cited, 314
Cornish, Vaughan, cited, 365
Coudert, Frederic R., cited, 249
Coulanger, de, French historian, cited on effect of French Revolution in Alsace, 349
Coulton, G. G., cited, 248
Cramb, J. A., his warning to Britain, 259; cited, 19
Creel, George, endorses work of propaganda hostile to the Allies, 215, 241; advocate of Freedom of the Seas, 303; gives out through his official news bureau misleading information, 410; proclaimed his pride in lack of preparation for war, 410; cited, 246, 253
Curtin, D. Thomas, cited, 127, 147
Cvijic, Jovan, cited, 365
Czar Nicholas of Russia, reply to Kaiser's telegram, 31
Czecho-Slovaks, importance of their rise as independent state, 328; should become independent state, 335

D

Daniels, Josephus, declares America must accept Mr. Wilson's plan or have "biggest navy," 422
Danish question, 5
Darwin, Charles, cited on British opinion during American Civil War, 396
Davies, J. E., Mr. Wilson's candidate for United States Senator in Wisconsin, 409
Davignon, Henri, cited, 184
Davis, Arthur N., cited, 277, 288
Davis, William Stearns, cited, 19
Davison, Charles Stewart, cited, 249
Dawson, Lt. Coningsby, cited, 183
Defeatism in France, 158
Defense Societies, American, their efforts to arouse the nation to its peril, 221, 222
Deland, Mrs. Margaret, cited on internationalism, 370; cited, 384
Delbrück, Professor, his law of dual allegiance, 152, 153; cited on control of the German army, 315; cited on former German colonies, 339
Delcassé, M., French Foreign Minister, his resignation forced by Germany, 57; brings about *Entente Cordiale*, 57
Deltas of rivers, their rôle in human economy, 359
Denis, E., cited, 84
Deportations, French and Belgian, plan of, 177
Dernberg, Dr. Bernard, effect of his campaign of propaganda, 201; cited on failure of his propaganda campaign, 233; preaches Freedom of the Seas, in American propaganda, 307, 308

Desertions in American Civil War, 394
Detroit *Free Press* cited, 248, 249, 252, 253, 271, 272, 288, 313, 363, 364, 416
Deutschtum im Ausland, 149; *see* Greater Germany
Dewey, Admiral George, annoyed by German Admiral, 54; affair with German Admiral at Manila, 190; his defense program, 229
Diaries of German soldiers, samples of, 170
Dickson, Harris, cited, 417
Diedrichs, Admiral von, his annoyance of Dewey at Manila, 54; friction with Dewey at Manila, 190
Dillon, E. J., cited on peaceful penetration of Italy, 129, 133; cited on peaceful penetration, 130; cited on Giolitti's attitude, 159; cited on Italian parliamentary system, 160; cited, 47, 84, 147, 162
Discipline of the individual in Germany, 111
Docility of German subjects, cause of, 121
Dogger Bank episode interpreted, 56
Doughty, Wm. H., Jr., cited, 249
Doyle, A. Conan, cited, 250
Drang nach Osten, 54
Dreamers of world empire, German, 3
Dual Alliance, 65
Ducarne, General, conversation with Colonel Bernardiston, 43
Durkheim, E., cited, 84
Duryea, Nina L., cited on spiritual force of France, 273
Dye industry, German, in relation to manufacture of war materials, 144
Dynamite outrages in America, work of German agents, 202

E

Eckenfelder, Major, his strictures on *Le Feu*, 269; cited, 271
Economic barriers against Germany, 341
Edelsheim, Freiherr von, his plans to invade the United States, 55; cited, 82
Edwards, George Wharton, cited, 366
Ellis, William E., cited on internationalism, 367; cited on danger of cult of internationalism, 371; cited, 384
Elst, Baron van der, Belgian Secretary of Foreign Affairs, cited, 39
Ely, Richard T., cited, 248
Engerand, Fernand, cited, 364
England and Germany, 2
English-speaking race patriotism, 401
Evening Post, the New York, pacifistic attitude of, 264
Expansion of patronage, danger in, to people's liberties, 411
Eyschen, M., Prime Minister of Luxembourg, 71

F

Fabricius, cited, 211
Federal Council, German, see *Bundesrat*
Ferdinand, Tsar of Bulgaria, conspired with Germany, 157
Fernau, Hermann, cited on German professors, 64; cited on German constitution, 106; cited on German army, 108; cited, 110, 127
Ferrero, Guglielmo, cited on French sacrifices, 86, 96; cited, 83
Figaro, Paris, cited on peaceful penetration of France, 130; cited, 83
Fire insurance companies, German, their part in munition outrages, 147
Fiske, Admiral Bradley A., gives warning of America's defenseless condition, 220
Fiske, John, cited on essentials of peace, 331; cited, 416
Fleuriau, M. de, French Chargé at London, reports on Fleet disposition, 298
Florer, Professor W. W., activities of, in German propaganda, 153;

Florer—*Continued*
anti-British lectures by, 154; manages monster Bismarck celebration, 154
Flotten-Verein, see Navy League
Foch, General Ferdinand, at first battle of Marne, 90; his masterful strategy, 247
Food problem of Germany, 133
Ford, Henry, his peace argosy, 208; a dupe of Germany, 265; partial list of his pacifist activities, 266; libels the Navy League, 266; loses libel suit by Navy League, 267; Mr. Wilson's candidate for United States Senator from Michigan, 410; defeated for United States Senator from Michigan, 419
Ford, Mrs. Henry, said to have furnished money for peace telegram barrage, 227
Forgach, Count, *agent provocateur*, 25; forges papers, 74
Forman, L. L., cited, 249
Fortescue, Captain Granville, cited, 251
Foy, General, cited on patriotism of Alsace, 350
France, depredations of, alleged by Germany, 39; the soul of, 87; repeatedly halts barbarian invasions, 88; invasion of, in 1914, 89; the anvil to receive blows of Thor at Verdun, 89, 91; celebrates Independence Day, 93; has won right to dominate peace council, 95; our debt to, 86, 92, 97
Francis Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, assassination of, 22; opposed German plot, 72; refused protection when assassinated, 73
Francke, Kuno, cited on German Government, 99; cited on German allegiance, 152; cited, 110
Franco-Prussian War planned by Bismarck, 5; leaves France crushed, 9
Franc-tireurs, evidence for charges of, in Belgium, 172
Frank, Glenn, 272
Frederick Barbarossa, dreamer of world empire, 4
Frederick the Great, on army discipline, 126; made friend of American democracy by propaganda, 198; cited, 64
Frederick III., of Germany, aids Bismarck, 6
Freedom of the Seas, demanded in Germany's peace program of August, 1917, 286; demanded by German leaders, 289; doctrine founded by Grotius, 290; origin of the idea ascribed to Colonel House, 290; a catchphrase directed against Britain, 290; exists in peace times, 292; danger to democracies if doctrine should be adopted, 297; in peace the result of British sea control, 301; formerly did not obtain during peace, 301; its relation to British policy of free trade, 302; early American policy concerning, 304; exposition of doctrine by Colonel House, 306; Germany accepts it as offered by Colonel House, 307; Britain rejects it when offered by Colonel House, 307; not in the interest of democracies, 313; should not be included in peace terms, 334; partial justification of former British impressment of American seamen, 303; rejected by British and French, 420
French Army, increase of, 60
French Commission, cited, 184, 185
Freytag-Lorenhoven, General Baron von, cited on War Lords in war, 165; cited, 183
"Friends of Peace," a German organization, 207
Frightfulness, German, *see* Atrocities
Fulda, Ludwig, cited, 149
Fuller, George N., cited, 20
Fullerton, William Morton, scores Wilson's lack of leadership, 236; cited, 19, 249

G

Gallois, Lucien, cited, 366
Gardiner, J. B. W., cited on Ger-

Gardiner—*Continued*
man atrocities, 176; cited on Germans in South America, 192; cited on secondary marriages, 325, 327; cited, 183, 211, 249, 330, 365
Gardner, Augustus P., his policy later adopted by Mr. Wilson, 240; pioneer of preparedness, 262; attacks Peace without Victory attitude of Mr. Wilson, 284; his criticism of the League to Enforce Peace, 378; cited, 251, 288, 384
Garner, James Wilford, cited, 184
Garrison, Lindley M., resigns as Secretary of War, 230
Garroni, Marquis, Italian Ambassador at Constantinople, plot confided to, 69; cited, 76
Gauss, Christian F., cited, 85
Gauvain, Auguste, cited, 47, 84
Genseric, King of the Vandals, 4
George, David Lloyd, affirms Entente solid, 57; explains the transport "miracle," 246; his comment on German peace note 279; cited on Peace without Victory, 317; cited as favoring continuation of the present league of nations, 422; cited, 250
Gerard, Ambassador Jas. A., cited on Massacre of Mazurian Lakes, 179; cited, 83, 127, 212
German-American Alliance, National, *see* National German-American Alliance
German-American Literary Defense Committee, 208
German-American press, disloyalty of, 200
German-American Societies, in *Kultur* movement, 200
German-American Teacher's Alliance, promotes disloyalty, 199
German Army, increases of, 60, 61; exceptional grand maneuvers, 70, 78
German churches, in United States, promote disloyalty, 200
German Colonies, contrasted with British, 338; the future disposition of, 338
German conspiracies, against the United States, 187; in West Indies, 189; against United States in war with Spain, 190
German language, as a tool of German *Kultur*, 194; in America, menace in use of, 196
German people, their responsibility for the war, 126; support the war, 327, 329; lost their liberties, 402
German professors, agents of German propaganda, 150; their memorial to the "civilized world," 163; in America, agents of *Kultur*, 196; exchange system with United States, 198; issue manifestoes in 1870, 351; their memorandum urging haste in making peace, 423; cited, 64
German refugees, opinion of, 127; agencies of German propaganda, 150
German scholarship, its pre-eminence disputed, 125
German University League, 208
German veterans, in America, loyalty to Germany, 197
German War Practices, cited, 83, 85
German women, their place in the social scale, 112
Germania Irredenta, see Greater Germany
Germany, transformed into a tentacular state, 13; and the food problem, 14; national wealth of, 14; over development of industry a menace, 15; iron mines do not supply her demand, 15; expanding markets of, 15; welding of the Empire, 21; her claim that she mediated with Austria, 28; her attitude in Austro-Serbian crisis, 29; proclaims state of war, 31; thought Russia would hold back from war, 36; offer to Belgium, 38; invasion of French territory by, 38, 42; her propaganda in England, 41; fake stories of aggression by, 41, 42; promises England not to annex Belgian territory, 42; her navy's challenge to England, 54; her threat

Germany—*Continued*
met at Agadir, 58; prepares definitely for war in 1911, 58; issues sealed codes to ocean liners, 59; secret memorandum on army increases, 61; her assault dated in advance, 63; her reasons for launching war in 1914, 64; masses troops on French frontier July 25, 1914, 79; lies to her own people, 81; invades France August 2, 1914, 82; system of government, 100; polytechnic schools of, their place in peaceful penetration, 132; her methods of influencing rival governments, 157; her methods of war, 164; her hostile attitude toward United States in War with Spain, 190; her dread of British sea power, 296; her plans for a series of wars of conquest, 315; her "next war," German policy concerning, 316; her Foreign Office a conspiracy hatchery, 333; her plans aimed at the United States, 342; outside the League of Nations, 382; school system of, 406; derives little comfort from the opposition developing to Mr. Wilson's views, 422
Gibbons, Herbert Adams, cited, 20
Gieslingen, Baron von, cited, 28
Giolitti, Signor, Italian Premier, keeps German plot secret, 69; Italian political boss, as Germany's tool, 157, 159
Goebel, Professor Julius, disloyal utterances of, 201
Goetzen, Captain Count von, cited, 54
Gompers, Samuel, checkmates German intrigues, 206
Goschen, Sir Edward, British Ambassador at Berlin transmits demand of his government, 44
Gottheil, Richard, cited, 384
Graebner, Professor, revealed as German spy, 155
Grande, Julian, cited, 84
Grant, General U. S., cited on drifting into war under President Buchanan, 237; cited, 249
Great Britain, supports America in War with Spain, 191; interference with neutral trade, 216; her achievement in troop transport, 246; mistress of the seas since Trafalgar, 290; her existence dependent on sea control, 294; Germany's hopes concerning, 316; attitude of during American Civil War, 395; hatred of, taught in American schools, 401; our debt to, 401; the fight for liberty in, 403
"Greater Empire" of Germany, 149
Greater Germany, methods of extending, 118, 194
Greeley, Horace, for peace without victory, 275
Greene, General Francis V., cited, 251
Grey, Sir Edward, cited on Austrian ultimatum, 24; reports information from Lichnowsky, 26, 27; cited on Serbian reply to ultimatum, 28; reply to German Chancellor's proposal, 34; proposal to Germany of July 31st, 36; cited on British attitude toward Belgian neutrality, 36; notifies France of British attitude toward neutrality of Belgium and Luxembourg, 38; announces attitude of British fleet, 38; his demand on Germany to respect foreign territory, 44; dispels notion that Britain will stand aside, 298
Grotius, Hugo, founder of doctrine of freedom of seas, 290
"Group System" in commercial infiltration, 142
Gurlitt, Cornelius, cited, 317
Gwatkin, H. M., cited, 84

H

Haase, Hugo, member of *Reichstag*, reveals doings at Potsdam War Council, 76
Haldane, Lord, as Germany's tool, 157, 158
Hale, George Ellery, cited, 86
Hale, William Bayard, German agent, 137; head of German

Hale—*Continued*
propaganda, 139; Mr. Wilson's confidential ambassador to Villa, 232
Hall, Edward H., cited, 249
Hamilton, Alexander, citation from, 213, 214; cited on rights of man, 239
Hammann, Dr., head of German News Service, 137
Hammerling, Louis N., cited as German agent, 138
Hanotaux, Gabriel, cited on Bulgaria's secret treaty, 57; cited on assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, 72; cited, 83, 162
Hansi, *see* Waltz, J. J.
Harden, Maximilian, cited on unreliability of German word, 331, 333; cited, 27
Harré, T. Everett, cited, 271
Harrison, Frederic, his satire on peace without victory, 276
Hart, Albert Bushnell, cited, 185, 248, 250
Hatch, Louis Clinton, cited, 416
Hauser, Henri, cited on peaceful penetration, 130, 131; cited on Herr Thyssen's activities, 140; cited on future peaceful penetration, 161; cited on German plans for future wars, 320; cited, 15, 19, 147, 162, 330, 364, 365, 366
Hay, John, cited in connection with Venezuelan difficulty in 1901, 191; cited, 288
Hayes, Professor Carlton, J. H., works against compulsory military training, 257
Hays, Will H., cited, 416
Hayti, German methods in, in 1897, 189
Hazen, Chas. D., cited on Alsace-Lorraine, 343; cited on Holy Roman Empire, 347; cited on French Revolution, 349; cited on bombardment of Strasbourg, 351; cited, 110, 364
Headlam, J. W., cited, 47, 330, 365
Hearst Syndicate, pro-German activities of, 139; protected by the government, 413
Hearst, William Randolph, under German influence, 139, 140
Helfferich, Dr., German Minister of Finance, confidences of, 68; cited, 14
Helmholtz, Professor, his low position in German social life, 112
Henry, Prince, cited, 54
Henshaw, F. W., cited, 248
Herzog, S., cited, 148, 365
Hibben, John Grier, cited, 249
Hill, David Jayne, cited, 110, 250
Hill, G. F., cited, 185
Hillquit, Morris, cited, 272
Hindenburg, General von, guilty of German atrocities, 168
H. M. Stationery Office cited, 46, 83, 186, 313, 364
Historians, American, their misreading of signs of the times, 256
History teaching, distorted in secondary schools, 387
History texts, necessity of revising, for secondary schools, 398
Hoard, William Dempster, pioneer in Americanization, 196, 197
Holland, W. J., cited on position of German Science, 125; cited, 128
Holleben, Baron von, German Ambassador at Washington, intrigues of, 197, 198
Holmes, Edmond, cited, 128
Holy Roman Empire, 4
Hornaday, William T., cited, 271
House, Colonel E. M., cited as adviser of President Wilson on peace policy, 227; his roving ambassadorship unconstitutional, 232; his previous record, 233; advocate of freedom of the seas, 303; exponent of Mr. Wilson's doctrine of freedom of the seas, 305; offers Germany release from British blockade, 306; picked by Mr. Wilson for peace delegate, 410
House Documents, 64th Congress, cited, 247
House Naval Committee (Democratic), increases Mr. Wilson's naval estimates, 229; Republican minority greatly increases naval estimates, 229

Howland, Charles P., cited, 249
Huard, Baroness (Frances Wilson), cited on German atrocities in France, 168; cited, 183
Hughes, Charles E., cited, 250
Huidekoper, Frederick L., cited, 415
Hull, Professor William I., condemns conscription, 258
Hurd, Archibald, cited on German antagonism to British sea power, 297; cited, 85, 211, 313, 314

I

Idea factory, the, of Germany, 115
Im Vaterland cited, 98, 110
Imperial Diet, German, see *Reichstag*
Imperial German Embassy in Washington, head office of German conspiracies, 202
Indemnities exacted by Germany in occupied territory, 172
Industrial Workers of the World, treasonable activities of, 206
Intellectuals, American, their lack of prescience, 256; blindness of, 263
Intercollegiate League of German Clubs, 208
International Law, extensions of, in American Civil War, 217
Internationalism, disguised pacifism, 94; the new pacifism, 368; supported by Germany, 372; involves loss of ideals, 372
Iron and coal, necessary to peaceful penetration, 131
Iron mines of French Lorraine seized by Germany, 82
Iron ore, importation of, by Germany, 15; Moroccan, 15; German production of, 132; German prospective exhaustion of, 318, 319; its relation to future German wars, 318; Swedish, must not be absorbed by Germany, 336; of Ukraine, importance of, in future wars, 329
Iron ore of Lorraine, in relation to German development, 11; increase in production of, by Germany since 1870, 12; production of, 343
Italian Commercial Bank, see *Banca Commerciale, Italiana*
Italy, announces neutrality, 37; refuses to join Austria in attacking Serbia, 69; people wrest control from government, 161; declares neutrality, 299; Germany's hopes concerning, 316; in League of Nations, 382

J

Jagow, Herr von, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, cited, 33
Jameson, Professor Franklin, cited, 384
Janizaries, future German, in next war, 328
Jastrow, Joseph, cited, 272
Johnson, Douglas W., cited, 19, 84, 249, 365
Johnson, Willis Fletcher, cited, 314
Johnston, R. M., cited on education in correct views of military history, 386; cited, 416
Jones, John Price, cited, 250
Jordan, David Starr, as Germany's tool, 157; his pacifist propaganda, 260; cited, 271
Joubert, Wilfred A., cited, 128
Judd, Charles H., cited, 416
Judson, Harry Pratt, cited, 19
July anniversaries, 94

K

Kahn, Otto H., cited, 252
Kaiser, German, has power to declare war, 105
Kellogg, Vernon, cited, 184
Kinglets, in Balkans, favorable to Germany, 156
Kipling, Rudyard, *The Neutral*, 213; cited on pacifist attitude, 273; reveals mockery of internationalism, 373; *An Imperial Rescript*, 373; cited, 384
Klein, Abbé Félix, cited, 364
Kluck, General von, guilty of German atrocities, 168
Knapp, George L., cited on distress in Great Britain due to blockade of South, 396; cited on national characteristics, 397;

Knapp—*Continued*
cited on attitude of Britain in Revolutionary War, 391; cited on inherited liberties of Americans, 405; cited, 249, 384, 415
Koch, T. W., cited, 212
Krehbiel, Professor Edw. B., attacks work of American Defense Society, 258; cited, 272
Kreigsgefahrzustand, declared in Berlin, 81
Krey, August C., cited, 83, 183
Kronprincessin Cecilie, case in Federal Court, 59
Kruger telegram, interpretation of, 16
Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Herr, confidences of, 68
Krupp Works, labor employed at, 13
Krutsch, P., cited, 330
Kuehnemann, Professor Eugen, his propaganda in America, 153; claims freedom of the seas is Germany's aim in the war, 289; cited on Germany's aims, 292; makes American speeches for freedom of the seas, 308; cited, 313
Kultur, effect of, in Germany, 111, 115
Kultur movement, German, in America, 193; in the Balkans, 194
Kuropatkin, General, cited on Russia's communications, 65

L

"Labors' National Peace Council," organized for German propaganda purposes, 206
Lafayette, Marquis de, 93
La Follette, Robt. M., an aid to the *Kultur* movement, 119; baneful influence of his pro-German attitude, 265
Lamar, David, German agent, 206; in relation to Henry Ford, 208; adviser of Henry Ford, 265
Lamprecht, Karl, cited on tentacular state, 13; cited, 19
Lancashire spinners, their distress during American Civil War, 397
Landtag, Prussian, character of, 103; relation to *Reichstag*, 104
Lane, Ralph Norman Angell, *see* Angell, Norman; effect of his pacifist writings, 259; cited, 271, 369
"Last War," the, an illusion following every exhausting war, 368
Lateral marriages, *see* secondary marriages
Lavisse, E., cited, 184
Law, Andrew Bonar, his comment on Mr. Wilson's "peace without victory" message, 273, 310
League of English-speaking peoples, nucleus of democratic nations, 381
League of Nations, French attitude toward admitting Germany to, 383
League to Enforce Peace, the plan of, 376; criticism of, 377; of value if set up for peace-loving nations, 378; universal, 382
Lenroot, Irvine L., opposed by Mr. Wilson for senator, 409
Liberty anniversaries, joint celebrations of, in 1918, 381
Liberty landmarks, few, in Germany, 114
Lichnowsky, Prince Karl, cited on Russian attitude as interpreted at Berlin, 37; his condemnation of Germany, 45; reports Kaiser's reception of news of Archduke's assassination, 74; report on Potsdam War Council of July 5, 1914, 76; cited, 21, 26, 36, 47, 83
Liebknecht, Karl, experience of, 126
Lincoln, Abraham, cited, 49; citation from, 213; his leadership, 239; cited on peace without victory, 273; his firm stand against peace without victory, 275, 276; his letter to Manchester workingmen, 397; cited on freedom of speech toward the President, 406
Lind, John, his mission to Mexico, 232
Lloyd George, David, *see* George, David Lloyd

Loans, American, to Allies, proposed disposition of, 340
Lodge, Henry Cabot, cited on news suppression, 411; cited, 365, 416
Lorraine, its history, 348
Lorraine iron ore, cause of Germany's military power, 315; Germany's plans concerning, with reference to next war, 318
Love, H. K., cited, 248
Lovejoy, Arthur O., cited, 185, 248
Low, Sydney, cited on Giolitti's attitude, 160; cited, 148, 162
Lowell, A. Lawrence, cited, 110
Lowell, James Russell, cited, 214
Lucaciu, Dr. Vasile, Head of Roumanian Mission to United States, accuses Kaiser of Archduke's assassination, 75
Lusitania, excuse for sinking, 294; sinking of, interferes with Houses's plans to induce Britain to release Germany from blockade, 309
Luxburg, Count, German Chargé, his conspiracies against Argentine, 193; cited, 185
Luxemburg, Rosa, trial of (army methods), 126
Luxemburger Loch, 71, 78

Mc

McCurdy, Charles A., cited, 365
McDonald, Professor Jas. G., defends Germany's violations of international law, 257; cited, 271
McElroy, Robert M., cited, 248, 250
McLaren, A. D., cited on peaceful penetration, 130; cited on German spies, 155; cited, 147, 162
McNamee, F. A., Financial Chairman Democratic National Committee, proclamation by, 412

M

MacGowan, Kenneth, cited, 148
Mahan, Admiral A. T., cited on Monroe Doctrine, 188; cited on purposes of navies, 292; cited on effect of sea blockade, 296; cited on sea blockade, 304; cited on disastrous effect of freedom of the seas, 309; cited on the effect of peace after the Punic Wars, 368; held the United States should have fought France in 1812, 393; cited, 211, 313, 384
Malcolm, Ian, cited, 184
Manning, William T., cited, 249
Manoury, General, at the Marne, 90
Man-power, German, for future wars, 323
Manteuffel, Statthalter of Alsace-Lorraine, revelations in his memoirs, 354
Marches, the German, with reference to future wars, 321
Marcossen, Isaac F., cited, 364
Marshall, Edward, cited, 77
Masaryk, J. F., cited, 363
Massacre of Mazurian Lakes, 178
Mateikat, Arthur W., cited, 139
Mathews, Shailer, cited, 248
Maxim, Hudson, cited, 251
Mayer, William Roscoe, cited, 271
Meighen, A., cited, 385
Melville, Harry, librarian of German propaganda material, 209
Mensdorff, Count, Austrian Ambassador at London, charges Germany with wanting the war, 77; cited, 28
Mercier, Cardinal, cited, 184
Merz, Chas., cited, 251
Mesopotamia, in peace times, 337; reclamation of, 360; British transformation of, during the war, 361; in German hands a menace to India, 361
Michaelis, Imperial German Chancellor, asserts Germany's claim to the freedom of the seas, 289; German Chancellor, cited on Germany's motives in the war, 317
Military Affairs Committee of United States Senate, its report suppressed, 411
Mittel-Europa, its destruction essential to peace, 337; a menace to America, 356, 357; in German plan of a peace by negotiation, 359

Mobilization, by Austria, 31; by Russia, 31, 32; by France, 32; by Germany, 32; by Germany, truth about, 77; by Germany, premature proclamation of, 80
Moltke, Count Hellmuth von, collaborated in falsification of Ems telegram, 7; his "green border," 12; German Chief of Staff in 1914, confides war plot to King Albert, 70
Monroe, James, 214
Monroe Doctrine, cause of German conspiracies, 187; sponsored and defended by Great Britain, 188; threatened by Germany in 1902, 191; threatened by German plans in South America, 192, 193; threatened by Napoleon III., 276, 395; in relation to League to enforce Peace, 379
Montgelas, Albrecht de, German propagandist, 139
Moore, Frederick, cited, 288
Morgenthau, Henry, American Ambassador at Constantinople, reveals German plot, 76; cited, 83, 330
Moroccan question, adjusted between France and England, 18
Moulton, Harold Glenn, cited, 365
Muehlon, Dr. W., confession of, 68; cited, 83
Mugerditchian, Mrs. Esther, cited, 186
Muir, Ramsay, cited, 19, 313
Munro, Dana C., cited, 83, 183, 185
Munson, Major Edward L., cited, 415
Murray, Gilbert, cited, 20, 314

N

Nagging, as part of German scheme, 121
Namier, Lewis B., cited, 363
Napoleon I. of France, cited on suppression of insurrections, 166
Napoleon III., tries to mediate for peace without victory in American Civil War, 276
Nation, the New York, aid to German *Kultur*, 119; ultra-pacifist organ, 263
National Committee on Patriotic and Defense Societies, 222
National Defense Societies, their predictions fulfilled, 241
National Educational Association, its relation to pacifist propaganda, 259
National German-American Alliance, stimulated disloyalty, 150; Chronological History of, 151; Official Bulletin of, 151, 154; activities of, in Michigan, 153; disloyalty of, 199; broken up as result of Senate investigation, 199; propaganda by, against shipments of munitions, 205; disguises of, 205; joins with Ancient Order of Hibernians, 205; its telegram barrage, 207; cited, 162
National Security League, The, vainly requests President to publish reports on defense, 223; cited, 248, 251
National Service Handbook cited, 251
Nationalism bound up with family and home, 373
Naumann, Friedrich, cited, 365
Naval power, limitations of, 295; exerted in interest of democracy, 297
Navy, British, its part in winning the war, 295; its protection of French coasts, 297
Navy League, German, described, 53
Navy League, United States, work of, 222; libeled by Henry Ford, 266
Navy, United States, General Board's report, 228; published, 229
Neilson, Francis, ascribes cause of war to English diplomatists, 215; cited, 272
"Neutrality Leagues" organized by German-American Alliance for propaganda purposes, 205
New Republic, The, aid to German *Kultur*, 119; a pacifist organ, 264

New York *Times* cited, 47, 82, 83, 127, 148, 162, 185, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 271, 272, 288, 313, 314, 330, 364, 365, 384, 416, 417
New York *Tribune* cited, 248, 249, 252, 272, 288, 416
Next war, Germany's, date of, in plans, 329
Nicolay, John G., cited, 288
Niemeyer, Th., cited, 184
Niepage, Dr. Martin, cited on German atrocities in Armenia, 182; cited, 184
Ninety-three Professors of Germany cited, 84, 184
North American Review's War Weekly cited, 252, 271
Notestein, Wallace, cited, 82
Nyström, Anton, cited, 47

O

Odell, Rev. Joseph H., cited on attitude of the Church, 274; cited, 250, 288
O'Donnell, T. J., cited, 248
Official documents concerning outbreak of war, 33
Official Documents Looking toward Peace cited, 271
Official press bureau, *see* Committee of Public Information
Ohlinger, Gustavus, cited on German constitution, 98; cited on Chinese boycott of American goods, 146; cited on German professors in America, 187; cited, 211
O'Leary, Jeremiah, adviser of Henry Ford, 265
Oliver, Frederick Scott, cited on the pacifist policy, 254; his part in British preparedness movement, 259; cited, 248, 251, 416
Olmstead, Katharine, cited on atrocities in Roumania, 180
Oncken, Hermann, cited on dual allegiance, 149, 152
Oppenheimer, Francis J., cited, 248
"Orderlies," German, with reference to future German manpower, 324
Orth, Samuel, cited, 110
O'Shaughnessy, Edith, cited, 250
Ossiannillson, K. G., cited, 47, 84
Ostwald, Professor Wilhelm, cited on potash famine, 344
Ottoman Empire in relation to Germany, 359
Oxford Faculty cited, 84

P

Pacifism, its relations to Church instruction, 274; perennial, 368
Pacifists, their reactions during the war, 269; psychology of, 369
Palmer, A. Mitchell, cited on peaceful penetration of United States, 129; cited, 148
Pan-German Union, its aims, 51, 52; two chapters of, in United States, 199; on German press in United States, 200
Papen, Captain von, German attaché at Washington, manager of German conspiracies, 202
Parfit, Canon, cited, 364
Paris pact of June, 1916, 341
Parker, Sir Gilbert, cited, 84
Parochial schools, German, agencies of German propaganda, 150; agents of *Kultur*, 196; foreign-language, fosters foreignism, 399
Patriotic instruction called for, 399
Pauncefote, Sir Julian, British Ambassador at Washington, German intrigue against, 198
"Peace argosy," of Henry Ford, 208; endorsed by Labor's National Peace Council, 266
Peace Council calls for men of practical sense, 332
Peace guarantees essential to permanent peace, 335
Peace of Amiens, a peace without victory which favored autocracy, 275
Peace terms, to be imposed, 332; should include full reparation, 334; should restore Lorraine iron deposits to France, 336; of the Allies, disclosed, 420
Peace without victory, not permanent, 274; interpreted by

Peace without victory—*Continued* Germany as a victory for her, 315; view of, by Lloyd George, 316; in relation to Germany's "next war," 316
Peaceful penetration, German, relation to military preparation, 129; methods of, 133, 136; the part of cartels in, 136; by foreign press control, 136, 137; "group system" in, 142; absorption of chemical industries in, 143; absorption of cotton and wool industries in, 143; in relation to manufacture of war materials, 144; German state activities, 145; its use of spy system, 146; falsification of trademarks in, 146; boycott of rival goods, 146; in the West Indies, 189; German, in South America, 192; danger from, after war, 336
Penck, Professor Albrecht, revealed as German spy, 155
Personal government, by Mr. Wilson, 409
Phenis, Albert, cited, 313
Pless, Prince von, his interpretation of Germany's peace offer, 277
Poland, rape of, by Frederick the Great, 3
Potash, use of German product, 345; deposits in Alsace, 344, 345
Potsdam Conference, of July 5, 1914; cited, 83
Pourtales, Count, German Ambassador at Petrograd, his manner of delivering declaration of war on Russia, 37; cited, 32
Powers, H. H., cited, 417
Press, German, section to influence neutrals, 210
Pringsheim, Professor, revealed as German spy, 155
Professors, German, intellectual bodyguards of Hohenzollerns, 123, 124; agents of German propaganda, 150; as German spies, 155
Prohibitions in the German system of government, 120
Propaganda, German, by pamphlets, 209
Providence Journal discovers and checks German conspiracies, 203; cited, 162, 211
Prussia, growth of, 2; acquires Hanover, 7
Prussian Constitution cited on army, 109
Putnam, Major George Haven, his work in arousing the nation, 222; cited, 248, 249, 385, 416
Putnam, Ruth, cited, 365

R

Raemaekers, Louis, cited, 184
Ramsay, Sir William, cited, 365
Rathom, John R., discovers and reveals German plots, 203; scores government leniency toward German plotters, 204
Raymond, H. J., cited, 288, 416
Read, Conyers, cited, 416
Realgymnasium, German, 407
Rebellion, Boxer, German atrocities in, 164, 165
Rebellion, Herrero, German atrocities in, 164
Reeves, Professor Jesse S., cited on British sea policy, 302; cited, 313
Reichert, Dr. J., cited on Germany's future wars, 319; cited, 330
Reichstag, German, has never successfully opposed government, 100; its composition, 101; proposed electoral reforms, 101; character of its deliberations, 102; manner of opening, 107
Reinsch, Paul S., cited on German plans in South America, 192; cited, 211
Reiss, R. A., cited, 185
Responsible ministry lacking in Germany, 106
Reventlow, Count zu, asserts German demand for the freedom of the seas, 289
Review of Reviews Co. cited, 247
Rhine Province, acquisition of, by Prussia, 3
Rhodes, James Ford, cited, 288
Ridder, Bernard H., indicted for sedition, 265

Rights of man, wrested from autocrats, 400; listed, 400; *habeas corpus*, 403; taxation without representation, 404; heritage from England, 404; courts of law, 405; free speech, 405; free schools, 406
Rintelen, Franz von, German agent, 206; head-spy of Germany in America, 265
Roberts, Field Marshal Lord, calls Britain to prepare for war, 158; warned Britain to prepare for war, 259; cited, 250
Robertson, J. M., cited, 19
Robinson, Edgar E., cited, 248
Rochambeau, Marshal, 93
Rohrbach, Paul, cited on effect of a compromise peace, 315
Rojestvensky, Admiral, cited, 56
Rolleston, T. W., cited, 365
Romer, Eugenius, cited, 366
Roon, General von, collaborated in falsification of Ems telegram, 7
Roosevelt, Franklin D., Assistant Secretary of the Navy, gives credit to Britain for troop transport, 246
Roosevelt, Theodore, his action on Venezuelan difficulty with Germany, 192; coöperates in organizing the Navy League, 222; the vocalized conscience of the American people, 225; condemns Wilson's false leadership after *Lusitania* outrage, 235; cited on peace prattlers, 254; conspicuous champion of preparedness, 262; prevented from taking important part in war service, 412; cited, 250, 253, 416
Root, Elihu, his comment on Mr. Wilson's attitude on the war, 224; cited, 249
Rose, J. Holland, cited, 47
Roumanian official report cited, 185
Royal Society of Literature cited, 366
Rumbold, Sir Horace, cited, 26
Rumely, Edward A., friend and adviser of Henry Ford, 208, 265
Russell, Mary Annette, cited, 128
Russia, importance of reëstablishment independent of Germany, 328; the menace of, if conquered or exploited by Germany, 329; must not be exploited by Germany, 336; should be compelled to meet financial obligations to France, 341; must be helped upon her feet, 342; the awful lesson of, 371; its uncertain future, 382
Russo-Japanese War and German labor problem, 14

S

Salisbury, Lord, British Premier, warns Britain to prepare for war, 258
Samoan crisis with Germany in 1889, 188
Sander, Albert, cited as German spy master, 139
San Giuliano, Marquis di, Italian statesman, refuses to join Austria in attacking Serbia, 69
Sarolea, Charles, cited, 19
Sayville wireless station, use of, for German plots, 204
Sazonof, M., his final proposal to Austria, 34; receives Germany's declaration of war, 37; cited, 27, 32, 46
Scherer, Dr. James A. B., attacks Hearst attitude and resigns from National Defense Council, 140; cited, 248
Schevill, Professor Ferdinand, exonerates German Kaiser, 256; cited, 271
Schmitt, B. E., cited, 47
Schoen, Baron von, German Ambassador at Paris, presents ultimatum, 35; hands declaration of war to France, 42; his charges against France, 78; his demand on France of Toul and Verdun interpreted, 320
School texts, German, in Turkey, 210
Schwimmer, Madam, influences Henry Ford to undertake peace enterprises, 208, 265
Scott, George Winfield, cited, 184
"Scrap of paper" declaration of German Chancellor, 44

Sea blockade, effect of, on morale, 311
Sea Power cited, 248
Secondary marriages, German preparation for next war, 324
Secret Service, United States, break down of, for lack of funds, 204
Seignobos, Ch., cited, 19
Selden, John, on *Closed Sea*, 290
Sellery, Geo. C., cited, 83, 183
Senate Committee on Military Affairs, cited, 250
Serbia, official attitude in crisis, 22; hands Austrian Ambassador reply to ultimatum, 28
Seymour, Charles, cited, 47
Simonds, Frank H., cited, 366
Sims, Admiral W. S., cited, 385
Sisson, Edgar, cited, 384
Skaggs, Wm. H., cited, 212
Smetenke, J. F., cited, 363
Smith, Arthur D. Howden, declares Colonel House originator of "Freedom of the Seas" idea, 290; cited, 252, 313, 363, 416
Smuts, General Jan Christian, cited on former German Colonies, 339, 340; cited on British Empire, 367; cited, 364
Social ladder, German, 122
Society for Germanism in Foreign Countries fosters disloyalty, 201
Somville, Gustave, cited on German system in atrocities, 175; cited, 183, 248
Sons of the American Revolution, utilized for German propaganda, 153
Spargo, John, cited, 384
Sperry, Earl E., cited, 211, 212, 248
Speyer, James, dinner of, where first peace balloon was launched, 225
Spies, German, in America, 195
Spies on German people, 108
Spurgeon, British divine, prays for success of Northern arms, 396
Spy system, German, its use in peaceful penetration, 146
Staats-Zeitung, New Yorker, organ of German propaganda, 265
Stead, H. W., cited, 83
Stengel, Hans von, German agent, 139
Stevenson, Robert Louis, cited on Samoan crisis, 189
Stimson, Henry L., cited, 248
Stockton, Richard, Jr., cited, 416
Stoddard, Lothrop, 272
Stoll, Elmer E., cited, 82
Stowell, E. C., cited, 47, 83
Strasbourg, sends address to National Assembly of France, 349; Mayor's address in 1848, 350; bombardment of, in 1870, 350
Straus, Hon. Oscar S., cited, 248
Street, Julian, cited, 249
Strother, French, cited, 211
Submarine outrages, Germany's war zone declaration, 233; Mr. Wilson's threat, 234; early sinkings, 234; Mr. Wilson's backdown, 235; toll of, 236; the *Laconia* case, 238, 240
Superman, cult of, 111, 117
Sutro, Theodore, German sympathies of, 139
Swift, Lucius B., cited on teaching of patriotism, 386; cited, 416

T

Taft, William Howard, cited on plan of League to Enforce Peace, 376, 379, 382; prevented from part in war, 412; cited on persecution of General Wood, 412
Tale-bearing, its part in German system, 108, 119
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, cited on Prussian character, 11
Tannenberg, Otto Richard, von, cited, 82
Tardieu, André, cited, 19
Taylor, Mason W., cited, 19
Temps, Le, cited, 363
"Tentacular State," the German, 133
Teutonic sons of America, 208
Thayer, William Roscoe, cited, 19, 82, 211
Theodoric the Great, dreamer of world empire, 4
Thompson, C. S., cited, 248

Thompson, Professor Jas. W., attacks Great Britain's attitude on the war, 257; cited, 271
Thyssen, August, employment of labor, 13; cited on Kaiser's confidences, 66; reasons for confessing plot, 67; his peaceful penetration of France and Russia, 140; cited, 64, 83, 363
Tirpitz, Grand Admiral von, accompanies Kaiser on visit to Archduke, 73
Tisza, Count, accused of assassination of Archduke, 75
Titles, their place in German scheme, 122
Toynbee, Arnold J., cited, 184, 185, 365
Transport "miracle," the, 245, 246
Treaty of Frankfort, modification of, because of iron ore, 12; terms of, 17
Trevelyan, Sir George Otto, cited on British sympathy with the colonies in 1776, 391; cited, 20, 84, 415
Trier, German base prepared at, in June, 1914, 78
Tripoli seized by Italy, 18
Tschirschky, Herr von, German Ambassador at Vienna, cited, 36
Tumulty, Secretary, cited, 416
Turczynowicz, Madame Laura de, cited on German atrocities in Poland, 168; cited, 183
Turkey must be released from control by Germany, 337
Turner, E. R., cited, 20

U

Ukraine should be released from German grasp, 336
Ultimatum, Austrian, to Serbia, time of promulgation, 24, 25; reply to, 28
University Boards curb freedom of speech, 268
Upton, General Emory, cited on our military history, 388; cited, 415, 416

V

Van Dyke, Henry, American Minister at The Hague, cited on German preparations to invade France, 71; on freedom of the seas, 289; cited, 83, 184
Van Tyne, Claude H., cited, 272
Vatican, *see* Benedict XV.
Veblen, Thorstein, pacifist book by, 269; cited, 271
Venezuela, German aggression in, 191, 197
Verboten (prohibited), its place in the German scheme, 120
Viereck, George Sylvester, cited as German agent, 138; cited, 128, 212
Vigilans sed Æquus (pen-name), cited, 84, 313
Villager, The, stands for Americanism, 264
Villard, Oswald Garrison, his pacifistic and pro-German activities, 264
Viviani, M., French Premier, his summary of German attitude, 35; reports to French Chamber on British support, 299; cited, 25, 27
Volkschule, German, 406
Vorwaerts, organ of Social Democrats, attitude in Austro-Serbian crisis, 30

W

Wagner, Professor, at Leipsic, cited on future of Alsace-Lorraine, 351
Walcott, Frederick C., interview with General Bernhardi, 59; cited on Belgian deportations, 177
Waldersee, Count von, conduct in China, 165
Walker, G. Bernard, cited, 251
Wallace, William Kay, cited, 147
Wallis, B. C., cited, 366
Wangenheim, Count von, German Ambassador at Constantinople, confides German plot, 69; confides plot to American diplomat, 75

War Council, German, of July 5, 1914, 75; of July 29, 1914, 80
War Department, its breakdown in the war, 242, 245
War, Franco-Prussian, German atrocities in, 164
War instructions, German, to officers, 166
War Lords, German, their relation to efficiency in war, 164
War of 1812 with England, the United States fought against democracy in, 274
War Precaution Act, Australian, 141
Washington, George, tribute to France, 93; citation from, 213, 214; cited to refute prevailing notions of Revolutionary War, 289; cited to refute prevailing notion of the "Spirit of '76," 390, 391
Watterson, Colonel Henry, cited on autocracy of Mr. Wilson, 414; cited, 416
Weeks, Raymond, cited, 86, 97
Weigand, Heinrich von, New York *World* correspondent, 138
West, Henry L., cited, 417
West, Victor J., cited, 248
Weston, Frank, cited, 363
Wetterlé, Abbé, cited on work of *Reichstag*, 102; cited on bribery methods in *Reichstag*, 104; cited on the gulf between Kaiser and people, 107; cited on German reverence for the Kaiser, 121; cited, 110, 127, 365
Whiting, E. Louise, cited, 86
Whitlock, Brand, cited on German atrocities, 177; cited, 183
Whitney, Caspar, cited, 248
Wigmore, J. H., editor, cited on science and learning in France, 128
Wile, Frederick William, cited, 84, 128
"Will to Power," the German, 132
Willcocks, Sir William, cited on reclamation of Mesopotamia, 360
William I. of Germany develops taste for conquest, 5
William II. of Germany, new naval policy of, 16; throws off mask, 16; visits Morocco, 18; desires "place in the sun," 21; his part in Austro-Serbian crisis, 29, 30; sends ultimatum to Russia, 30; reply to Czar, 31; cited on German ambitions, 50, 51; advises Russia to attack Japan, 55; tries to embroil Russia with England, 56; secret treaty with Bulgaria, 57; his revelation of plot to Captains of Industry, 65; speech on battle front lays blame for war to English plot, 67; confides plot to Helfferich and Krupp, 68; Scandinavian cruise a blind, 68; divulges war plot to King Albert, 70; visits Archduke Ferdinand, 73; receives news of Archduke's assassination, 74; presides at Potsdam War Council of July 5, 1914, 75; declares war on Russia without consulting *Bundesrat*, 105; manner of opening *Reichstag*, 107; cited on "Greater Empire" of Germany, 149; advises committing atrocities in Boxer Rebellion, 165; utters threat against United States, in War with Spain, 190; presents statue of Frederick the Great to United States, 198; cited on disappointment over failure of exchange professor system, 199; attends lectures by American professors at Berlin, 199; asks Mr. Wilson for impartial opinion on the war, 216; his first peace drive, 226; his defeat as a result of British sea power, 297
Williams, Harold, cited, 253
Williams, Talcott, cited, 248
Willmore, J. Selden, cited, 47, 212, 288
"Willy-Nicky" correspondence, 56
Wilson, Huntington, cited, 83, 349, 384
Wilson, Woodrow, flag day address of, cited, 98; his neutrality proclamation, 214; ascribes the war to diplomacy rather than to German ambitions, 215; says America is not

Wilson, Woodrow—*Continued*
concerned with the war, 215; gives the Kaiser impartial opinion on the war, 216; threatens Britain over trade interference, 218; stubbornly opposes movements looking toward the National defense, 219; declares American defense satisfactory in 1914, 220; declared objectives of both sides virtually the same, 221; continues to regard America as an "innocent bystander" in the war, 221; closes sources of information on national defense, 223; opposes defense societies, 223; refuses to make public the reports on necessary national defense, 224; first effort toward peace in September, 1914, 225, 226; proclaims day of prayer for peace in 1914, 226; peace activities of, in summer of 1915, 226; requests boards of experts to prepare reports on national defense, 227; publication of his defense program, 228; his naval estimates increased by House Naval Committee, 229; comparison of his defense program with that of the experts, 229; his naval program greatly enlarged by United States Senate, 229; governs without the Constitution, 230; opposes army legislation recommended by the General Staff, 230; opposes principle of conscription, 230; his "strict accountability" threat, 234; his "backdown" to Germany in "too proud to fight" speech, 235; scored by Roosevelt for "too proud to fight" speech, 235; his lack of leadership scored, 236, 239; dangerous faltering over armed ship measure, 237; his drifting policy assailed by the American Rights League, 237; comparison of his policy with that of Buchanan, 238; his change of front on entry into war, 240; refuses to take counsel with Republicans, 241; receives united support in real war measures, 242; his policies which delayed active participation in the war, 244; creates an official press bureau, 246; acts to defeat unconditional surrender of Germany, 247; his campaign for reëlection advanced by Ford money, 267; gives comfort and support to pacifists, 267; opposes preparedness by declaring nation prepared, 268; plays hand of Germany in peace offers, 278; issues "peace without victory" note, 279; his "peace without victory" note criticized, 280; comments of the Allies on his "peace without victory" note, 282, 283; continues peace discussion during our participation in the war, 285; his apparent awakening to dangers of peace without victory, 285; replies to Pope's peace offer on behalf of Central Powers, 286; cited on freedom of the seas, 289; advocates German policy of freedom of the seas, 303; autocratic manner of making his doctrines accepted as American, 309; comparison of his policy of freedom of the seas with that of Dr. Kuehnemann, 309; his policy of freedom of the seas endorsed by Germany, 310, 311; misunderstood attitude of German people, 329; his peace overtures caused much mischief, 335; includes doctrine of freedom of the seas in peace terms, 335; sidesteps Monroe Doctrine in peace league, 379; advocates universality of League to Enforce Peace, 383; cited on War of 1812, 393; versus the country, 408; his abuse of the "disloyalty label," 409; his reëlection advanced by Ford money, 410; makes his physician a Rear-Admiral, 413; controls Congress, 414; asks that politics be adjourned during the war, 414; asks people as patriotic duty to vote for those who support him, 419; acclaimed by French socialists, 419; his attempt to

Wilson, Woodrow—*Continued*
dominate at peace table, 419; says his "14 points" are approved, 420; visits Europe in state and courts royal honors, 420; his "14 points" espoused by Germany, 422; declares America will not join any but a universal league of nations, 422; cited, 249
Winslow, Admiral, warns of America's defenseless condition, 220
Wisconsin, Americanization in, 195
Wister, Owen, cited on German *Kultur*, 111; cited, 84
Witte, Emil, cited, 211
Wolff News Bureau, agent of official German news service, 119
Woman's Peace Mass Meeting, 227
Wood, Eric Fisher, cited, 251
Wood, General Leonard, dedication to, iii; gives warning of America's defenseless condition, 219; originator of the "Plattsburg camps," 221; the American Lord Roberts, 262; says public morality is matter of education, 386; cited on our military history, 387; cited on history of our War of 1812, 392; persecution of, 412; cited, 251, 415
Wood, Henry A. Wise, forces publication of suppressed defense reports, 228; cited, 249, 252
Wood, Roger B., cited, 250
Wordsworth, William, cited on love of freedom of English-speaking peoples, 367
World, the New York, opposes defense societies, 223
World War, an educator, 367; an expensive course of instruction, 387
Wyatt, Horace, cited, 47, 84

Z

Zabern affair in *Reichstag*, 106
Zimmerman, Dr. Alfred, cited, 148
Zimmermann, Emil, cited on former German colonies, 340
Zimmern, A. A., cited, 365

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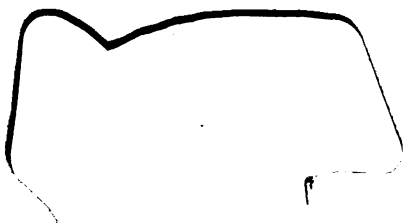
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